Daily Report

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CONTENTS

20 December 1991

NOTICE TO READERS: An • indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

People's Assembly Chairman on Upcoming Elections *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Democratic Party Chairman on Elections, Government *[Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET 13 Dec]* . 1

BULGARIA

Dimitrov Reacts to Libya's Lockerbie Proposal *[Sofia Radio]* 3
Turkey's Gen. Gures Gives Ozal Message to Zhelev *[BTA]* 3
Dimitrov Meets EC Official on Membership *[Sofia Radio]* 3
Details on Zhelev Meeting With Videnov Reported *[BTA]* 4
Delegates' Addresses to 40th BSP Congress Noted *[DUMA 16 Dec]* 4
Text of Assembly's Party Property Law Published *[DEMOKRATSIYA 13 Dec]* 6
KNSB Resolution on Law *[Sofia TRUD 13 Dec]* 7
Intelligence Chief Views Secret Service Reforms *[BTA]* 8
Budget Deficit Expected To Stay Within Limits *[BTA]* 8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prime Minister on Cooperation Accord With EC *[Paris LE MONDE 19 Dec]* 9
Evaluates Agreement's Specifics *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 17 Dec]* 9
Slovakia's Demes Discusses Ukraine Relations *[CSTK]* 10
Havel Assesses Results of Visit to Egypt *[Prague Radio]* 10
SNR Session Indicates Division in Coalition *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 16 Dec]* 11
Civic Democratic Party To Expand to Slovakia *[CSTK]* 12
Future of Party-Sponsored Newspapers Viewed *[VEREJNOST 13 Dec]* 12

HUNGARY

Diplomatic Ties Planned With Ex-USSR Republics *[MTI]* 13
Fur Comments on Moscow Military Cooperation Pact *[MTI]* 13
Goncz Appoints Ministers, New Office Supervisors *[Budapest Radio]* 13
IMF Assessment of Economic Reform Program Noted *[MTI]* 13
Federation of Romanians Views Minority Problems *[MAGYAR NEMZET 18 Dec]* 14

POLAND

Skubiszewski Views Successful NATO Contacts *[PAP]* 16
Skubiszewski on Conditions for Lithuania Visit *[PAP]* 16
German Border Cooperation Plan Discussed *[SLOWO POLSKIE 7-8 Dec]* 16
UD Rejects Membership in Olszewski Cabinet *[PAP]* 17
Skubiszewski Accepts Post; PSL May Join Coalition *[PAP]* 17
UD Leader on Coalition, Lack of Common Views *[GLOS PORANNY 9 Dec]* 18
Senate Approves 1991 Budget Amendment Resolution *[PAP]* 19
Trade Union Alliance Warns of Possible Strike *[PAP]* 19

ROMANIA

Military Cooperation Accord Signed With USSR *[ROMPRES]* 20
Government Welcomes EC Decision on Talks *[ROMPRES]* 20
Union Council Favors Close Moldovan Contacts *[ROMPRES]* 20
Spokeswoman on EC, Military Pay, Economic Issues *[ROMPRES]* 20

FSN Group Seeks 'Viable' Solutions to Conflict *[ROMPRES]* 21
Cluj County Branch Favors 'Left-of-Center' FSN *[ROMPRES]* 21
'Rigidity,' 'Nihilism' of Opposition Discussed *[AZI 13 Dec]* 21
Senate Endorses Broadcasting Bill 19 Dec *[ROMPRES]* 22
Consumer Price Index Rises 325.6 Percent *[ROMPRES]* 22

YUGOSLAVIA

International

Lord Carrington on Prospects for Hague Conference *[TANJUG]* 23
Carrington: 'No Obstacles' to Slovene Recognition *[Ljubljana Radio]* 23
Bulatovic Criticizes EC Position on Recognition *[TANJUG]* 23
Gligorov Satisfied With Carrington Talks *[TANJUG]* 24
Jovic Describes Talks With UN Team as 'Useful' *[TANJUG]* 24
Tudjman Thanks Kohl for German Recognition *[Zagreb Radio]* 24
Kucan on FRG Recognition of 'Different Reality' *[Ljubljana Radio]* 25
Measures Created To Counter German Transport Ban *[TANJUG]* 25
Sweden Decides To Recognize Croatia, Slovenia *[Zagreb Radio]* 25
Greguric States 'Dismay' With Italy's Stance *[Rome LA REPUBBLICA 18 Dec]* 25
Iceland Sends Letter of Recognition to Slovenia *[Ljubljana Radio]* 27

Federal

Presidency Speaks Out Against EC 'Interference' *[TANJUG]* 27
Parties Assess Impact of Recognition Decision *[TANJUG]* 28
Markovic Resigns 'For Reasons of Principle' *[TANJUG]* 29
Explains Resignation *[Belgrade Radio]* 29
Announces Decision to Media *[TANJUG]* 30
Presidency on Serbs in Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina *[TANJUG]* 30
Assembly Commission Names Appointments, Dismissals *[TANJUG]* 30
Assembly Delegates Seek Dinar's Devaluation *[TANJUG]* 30
Reservists Continue Protests Over Deployment *[TANJUG]* 31
Reasons for JNA War, Consequences for Bosnia *[OSLOBODJENJE 6 Nov]* 31

Slovenia

Rupel Seeks EC Recognition as Independent State *[TANJUG]* 32
VECER Notes EC 'Compromise' on Recognition *[TANJUG]* 32
Rupel Claims No Border Disputes With Croatia *[TANJUG]* 32

Croatia

HDZ on Recognition, Markovic's Responsibility *[TANJUG]* 33
Largest Military Base Handed Over to Croats *[Zagreb Radio]* 33
Government To Introduce Temporary Currency *[Zagreb Radio]* 33
Republic of Serbian Krajina Proclaimed *[Belgrade Radio]* 33

Serbia

Milosevic Voices Support for Vance UN Mission *[TANJUG]* 34
Assembly Conclusions on 'Illegal' EC Declaration *[Belgrade Radio]* 34
Assembly Supports Extension of Military Service *[Belgrade Radio]* 35
Opposition Party Criticizes Serbian Media, EC *[Belgrade Radio]* 35
Draskovic Advocates 'Russian Way' To End Crisis *[Belgrade Radio]* 35
Letter Addressed to Bishops on 'Tragic Events' *[VREME 25 Nov]* 36
Statistics on Republic's Ethnic Populations *[TANJUG]* 37
Beli Manastir Radio Station Given Assistance *[TANJUG]* 38
Press Conference of Sandzak, Kosovo SDA Leaders *[OSLOBODJENJE 2 Dec]* 38

Kosovo

Albanian Political Parties Seeks EC Recognition *[ATA]* 38
JEDINSTVO: EC Move 'Attack' on Sovereignty *[TANJUG]* 39

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Izetbegovic Reelected; EC Recognition Requested *[Zagreb Radio]* 39
Republic 'Very Interested' in Continued Hague Meet *[TANJUG]* 39
Muslim Party Issues Statement on Declaration *[TANJUG]* 40
Article Considers 'Winds of War Over Bosnia' *[OSLOBODJENJE 7 Nov]* 40
Cantonization of Bosnia, Army Role Examined *[DELO 7 Dec]* 41
Deputy Prime Minister Assesses Turkey Visit *[Sarajevo Radio]* 43

Macedonia

Gligorov Says Republic Expects EC Recognition *[Skopje Radio]* 43
Assembly Foreign Commissions Back EC Declaration *[TANJUG]* 43
Government Supports EC Document, Declarations *[TANJUG]* 44
Assembly Adopts Declaration on Recognition *[Skopje Radio]* 44

People's Assembly Chairman on Upcoming Elections

AU1912162991 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Zamira Koleci report]

[Text] Dr. Kastriot Islami, chairman of the People's Assembly Presidency, gave a news conference about legal opinions on the conduct of the country's elections in one of the halls of the Palace of Congresses at 1100 GMT today.

Describing the situation and the practical difficulties, he said that we are in a situation in which the people are demanding elections and the political parties are supporting them. Meanwhile, our CSCE membership demands free and democratic elections. He said that in finding the best possible solution there is a strong tie between the constitution, the Electoral Law, local organizations, and the courts.

Meetings and consultations with representatives of other countries, mainly long-established democracies, and Albania's specific conditions suggest that the best possible solution is to approve a constitution, to hold local elections and a general election for the People's Assembly, and to organize the court system later.

Regarding the present state of legislation and state organization, Dr. Islami pointed out that today's People Assembly does not reflect the range of political views. Local authorities have been appointed rather than elected, and are in practice paralyzed. Above all, the new constitution of the Republic of Albania, the foundation of a democratic state, is lacking.

Moreover, the People's Assembly must approve many other laws relating to the economic reform, because the trade unions are demanding that the economic reform be carried out after all its laws have been enacted.

In an attempt to achieve the most acceptable and feasible solution, Dr. Islami proposed three different ways to hold the elections.

The first variant would be that of complete renewal, i.e. approving the constitution by 12 February, the electoral law for local elections by 19 February, and the electoral law for general elections by 30 March. Both kinds of elections, i.e. for local authorities and the People's Assembly, could be held on 31 March or in a two-week period.

The second version would be to hold local and general elections before the new constitution is approved, i.e. by amending the existing Constitutional Law. Local elections could be held by 23 March and a general election by 7 April.

The third variant would be to amend the existing Constitutional Law, to approve a law on elections for the People's Assembly, i.e. general elections, and to hold the elections before 7 March. A 23-day election campaign is anticipated. This variant only renews the People's Assembly. This variant, Dr. Islami pointed out, is the one preferred by the political parties.

Dr. Islami went on to reply to reporters' questions. He explained the fruitfulness of the People's Assembly work, how servicemen in the now depoliticized Armed Forces will take part in the forthcoming elections, whether a system of proportional or majority representation will be used in the future elections, how the paradox of a nonparty government with party-based local authorities can be reconciled, etc.

Democratic Party Chairman on Elections, Government

PM1912141691 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 13 Dec 91 p 6

[Interview with Albanian Democratic Party Chairman Sali Berisha by Richard Swartz in Tirana; date not given]

[Text] Sali Berisha is chairman of the Democratic Party, the largest opposition party in Albania. It is Berisha who has been the driving force behind the recent Democratic Party decision to leave the coalition government formed in July by the opposition and the socialists (the former communists) to reduce the risk of a civil war in Albania. SVENSKA DAGBLADET's Richard Swartz spoke to him in Tirana.

[Swartz] Food riots, no one working, armed bands who take over power from the police—is there any government at all that could rule Albania?

[Berisha] This very anarchy was one of the reasons why we left the government. The government has chiefly busied itself with delivering lectures; the government has preached various ideas but has been unable to implement them in practice. There has been no popular support for it. And the government itself was caught up in the old communist spider's web, all these dependencies which hindered our minister's initiatives. At the local level there are still some people still in power who were not popularly elected and who are sabotaging everything that comes from Tirana. After more than four months we have now had enough.

[Swartz] Was it a mistake to enter a government with the socialists in July?

[Berisha] No. Albania was a country oppressed by the communists. The hatred of them is also greater than anywhere else in Eastern Europe and blood would have flowed here if the communists had continued to rule alone. Also, Albania was a country which had isolated itself from the rest of the world, a country which had forgotten itself. But our presence in the government broke this isolation: My party led the country out of the wilderness, and if the party has lost some political capital because of those months as a government party, the same does not apply to our country. Not to Albania.

[Swartz] There will now have to be new elections....

[Berisha] As early as January, I hope.

[Swartz] ...but people seem tired of politics. Is there not a risk that many people will not bother to vote? And what is the point of elections in the middle of winter, in January, when there is hardly likely to be food on the table?

[Berisha] In February there will be even less to eat. And you will see that you are wrong—there will be a big turnout. People here want to finally get rid of the communists. I hope—and I expect—that we will beat them once and for all, so that we can form a government without a single communists.

[Swartz] I do not exactly have the impression that people are longing desperately for an opportunity to vote again. Many people seem apathetic, some even say that they no longer have any confidence in the opposition.

[Berisha] That applies perhaps to some former communists. They are of course afraid of losing their old privileges, and that is why they feel threatened by my party. But the broad mass of people have confidence in us.

[Swartz] Many people from the intelligentsia are likely to refrain from voting....

[Berisha] They were the ones I was talking about—people who were favored by the old regime and who now fear that their position will be weakened.

[Swartz] Will it be possible to begin to build a democratic Albania without settling the score with the past? Do not Enver Hoxha's old nomenklatura have to be brought to account for their policies?

[Berisha] I am firmly opposed to trials. Do you know, every day under Hoxha a show trial was held somewhere in Albania, with false witnesses and so-called judges who had the written verdict in their pockets before they went into court. If we were to bring such people to trial, we would be forced to build more prisons and camps than there were in Hoxha's day.

Instead I am in favor of reconciliation. Every communist regime rests on two pillars—fear and hate. But I want to replace fear with freedom and hatred with reconciliation; reconciliation is particularly important in a country like Albania where the communists tried to eradicate all religion. Only the very highest political leaders should be brought to trial, like Enver Hoxha's widow, Nexhmije, those have grown fat at the expense of the people.

[Swartz] Don't you think that it is a little pathetic to accuse people of misappropriating money when everyone knows that they are responsible for countless murders?

[Berisha] But but it is not just a case of any old thieves! It is a case of real mafiosi, of large-scale thieves, of millions and millions that were stolen!

[Swartz] Everyone here in Tirana is talking about the personal rivalry between you and Gramoz Pashko, and about how this could lead to a split in he Democratic Party. Which of you is really the strong man of the opposition?

[Berisha] It is not true that I have anything against him. In fact it was I who proposed him as acting prime minister; I also defend him everywhere when he is criticized. But it is true that there are some differences of opinion between us. Gramoz Pashko does not want an election now. Like the communists, he did not want elections until early summer, and he did not want to hear any suggestion of any demonstrations against the communist director general of television. To be honest, I think that he should use his energies to combat the communists instead of his own party.

But it is not really a conflict between me and him. It is a conflict between Pashko and the party. And he cannot win it, because he does not have enough supporters.

[Swartz] What is your personal goal as a politician?

[Berisha] To see to it that democracy is victorious in Albania. No more and no less.

[Swartz] And with you as the first democratic president?

[Berisha] Believe me, I would be fully content to be a citizen of such a democratic Albania.

Dimitrov Reacts to Libya's Lockerbie Proposal

AU1912182291 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] In connection with reports from several news agencies, a spokesman for the Council of Ministers has been authorized the declare the following:

On 18 and 19 December, Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr. Said Shanfir [name as heard], envoy of the Libyan leadership. During the talks, Mr. Shanfir stated that the Libyan authorities are ready to cooperate in clarifying the truth behind the Lockerbie accident and are prepared to hand the two suspected Libyan citizens to the International Court, or to the court of a neutral country, including the Republic of Bulgaria.

Confirming the basic position of the Bulgarian side, which is connected with condemning all acts of terror, and readiness to cooperate in establishing the truth and finding peaceful means of resolving disputed situations, Mr. Filip Dimitrov pointed out that any initiative related to the case could be meaningful only if it is acceptable to all interested parties. Otherwise, Bulgaria could not contribute to successfully clarifying the situation.

Mr. Filip Dimitrov has initiated consultations with representatives of the United States and Great Britain in order to establish whether their position has changed.

Turkey's Gen. Gures Gives Ozal Message to Zhelev

AU1912204791 Sofia BTA in English 1820 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Sofia, December 19 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev of Bulgaria received General Dogan Gures, chief of the General Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces, who is paying an official visit here. Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army, attended the talks.

General Gures handed the Bulgarian head of state a message from President Turgut Ozal of Turkey.

The message stresses that General Gures' visit reflects the positive atmosphere in bilateral relations which, after a strained period in the recent past, are going through a process of normalization. This process has gathered speed especially since the October 13 elections. The Turkish president expresses his government's will to work for the upgrading of bilateral relations to the highest level, as well as his desire that the bilateral treaty on goodneighbourliness, friendship and cooperation between the two countries, which is in preparation, be signed as soon as possible. The message says that it is in the best interests of both countries to promote their relations in a spirit of friendship and cooperation under the new conditions.

Mr. Ozal writes that he is earnestly willing to meet the Bulgarian president soon for an exchange of views on bilateral and regional concerns.

General Petrov and General Gures familiarized Dr. Zhelev with the preparation of a Sofia document on cooperation, which is a step ahead of the measures envisaged in the Vienna accords. The promotion of cooperation between the two armies is a convincing proof that the relations between Bulgaria and Turkey are improving, President Zhelev pointed out. He expressed the conviction that the period of strain in bilateral contacts at the end of the 1980s is a thing of the past.

Dimitrov Meets EC Official on Membership

AU1812123391 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] The Council of Ministers Press Center reports that this morning Council of Ministers Chairman Filip Dimitrov received Mr. Daniel (?Gougainville), deputy director of the Directorate for Foreign Relations of the EC Commission.

The visitor informed him that the delegation is in Bulgaria to start the procedure of Bulgaria's application for associate EC membership. Brussels has a high opinion of the conduct of the reform in Bulgaria and the legislative changes, he said. We are on your side and will support all your initiatives, Mr. (?Gougainville) stressed. He stated that he has respect for Bulgaria's efforts to turn this disturbed Balkan region into a stable zone, without which economic prosperity is impossible.

Mr. Dimitrov thanked him for his understanding of Bulgaria's problems and stressed that the main laws on which every market economy is based have already been submitted to the National Assembly. The changes have started, he said, and we are strongly relying on the stable development of the process.

Mr. (?Gougainville) said that he was extremely satisfied with the mechanisms for social protection in Bulgaria, for which the government clearly has to bear a high cost, although this has to be done, of course. In addition, he stated that the stronger the EC is, the better it is for Bulgaria, and that the EC aims not to destroy nations, but to ensure their stability, when they are united.

As is well known, representatives of the EC Commission are visiting Bulgaria, and their visit and talks with Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev mark the start of the preliminary negotiations on Bulgaria's associate membership in the EC. The document that will be prepared later will help orient the EC when the actual talks start with our country. The visitors highly praised Bulgaria's efforts toward a balanced foreign policy. Bulgaria's associate EC membership is also the main purpose of Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev's visit to Vienna and Brussels, which he will start this afternoon.

Details on Zhelev Meeting With Videnov Reported

AU1912204191 Sofia BTA in English 1941 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Sofia, December 19 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev met today with the newly elected Chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), Mr. Zhan Videnov, at request of the latter. The meeting was held in private, spokesman Valentin Stoyanov told BTA.

BTA learnt from the Press Center of the BSP and the BSP-led Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy that Mr. Videnov briefed the president on the results of the 40th BSP Congress and on the socialists' intentions to cooperate with all democratic political and public forces for safeguarding the peaceful transition and overcoming the serious economic and social problems.

The chairman of the BSP Supreme Council voiced concern over what he called "certain tendencies to violate the Constitution, restrict pluralism and disregard the principle of the separation of powers."

Mr. Videnov expressed the hope that the president and the chairman of the National Assembly would help the free, democratic and fair conduct of the forthcoming presidential elections. The BSP leader insisted that all candidates be given equal opportunities to set forth their positions before the Bulgarian electorate.

Delegates' Addresses to 40th BSP Congress Noted

AU1912100591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 16 Dec 91 pp 1, 6

[DUMA staff report on proceedings of the 40th Bulgarian Socialist Party Congress held at the Sofia "Georgi Kirkov" Hall on 14-15 December: "The Socialist Party Faced the Challenge of Time"]

[Excerpts] It seems as if two congresses are being held in the same place—namely a congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and a congress of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]—one of the delegates remarked in the heat of the debates in the "Georgi Kirkov" hall of the BSP headquarters in Sofia where the 40th BSP Congress opened on Saturday, 14 December.

The discussion determined the three major trends of confrontation:

An alternative for the identity of the BSP—namely, whether it should be a modern left-wing party, or a social democratic party—was submitted in the political report delivered by the party's chairman, which we are publishing under separate cover. This alternative actually provided the basis for the notorious Lilov-Lukanov conflict and for the personal and group involvements and relations within the party leadership.

Both emotional-nostalgic and pragmatic approaches to socialism and to the political realities were manifested during the debate. Dimitur Ostoich, delegate from the Sofia "Izgrev" Municipality, who was the first speaker on the opening day of the congress, triggered a stormy debate with his statement. For more than two years, infighting has persisted within the BSP leadership, Ostoich pointed out. Some members of the Supreme Council and the Presidium take advantage of every opportunity to request the party chairman's resignation. If Aleksandur Lilov is an obstacle for the party, let us throw him out, Dimitur Ostoich "urged," thus causing an immediate escalation of tension among the audience. However, he promptly declared that Lilov, because of his personal qualities, is what the party needs today, thus retracting his own emotional outburst.

I am not sure whether Dimitur Ostoich should have been the speaker to open the debates, Stefan Prodev remarked, expressing his concern about the confrontation prompted by the first statement. According to him, such a spirit is likely to divide the congress. I had the opportunity to attend most sessions of the Supreme Council and the Presidium, and I could not seriously testify to any infighting. Whoever claims the opposite is telling a lie, Prodev added. A substantial difference exists between petty personal squabbles, the infighting for power, on the one hand, and the struggle of ideas, opinions, and views, on the other hand, he pointed out, and urged the delegates not to let themselves be carried away by primitive emotions. [passage omitted]

The second emotional outburst in the hall was prompted by Andrey Lukanov's statement, after which the speaker was subject to a crossfire of attacks. Lukanov disputed some of the conclusions drawn in Aleksandur Lilov's report and related to the assessment of the BSP election results. We should avoid the political scenario that our chief opponents are stubbornly trying to force upon us, Lukanov said. It is the restoration of the party's "hard liner approach," its return to the sectarian reflexes of the past, and to the distorted interpretation of discussions taking place within the party. Our response should be an acceleration of the party reforms.

Andrey Lukanov is convinced that the concept of "modern left-wing party" is no longer politically effective, that it no longer "works." It is high time for the BSP once and for all to declare itself a left-wing social democratic party or to strive for this objective.

Lukanov proposed a "shockingly bold" rejuvenation of the party leadership and recommended the adoption of the principle of a rotating leadership, according to which the party chairman should be elected on an annual basis. He declared that he understands Lilov's desire to withdraw from the leadership and confirmed his own intention to do so. Some delegates expressed their misgivings about Lukanov's statement, defining it as an attempt at manipulation and a personal attack against Chairman

Lilov, while others challenged him about his "unauthorized" resignations, which he submitted without the party's permission.

On the second day of the congress the debate was opened by Lyubomir Kyuchukov. He asked: How do we appear in the eyes of the world to which we would like to belong? The outside world still sees us as the old BCP. The BSP did not manage to overcome the objective conditions, and our international presence is still rather restricted, Kyuchukov thinks. We aspire to join the Socialist International, but do not have the courage to say that we are the BSP and not the BCP. It will not be easy to convince the parties that we would like to establish contact with, who we are, as long as we reject social democracy and declare that we are 40 years ahead of them, the speaker said. The dispute about being either a modern left-wing party or a social democratic one, is artificial, according to the speaker. It is much more important that socialist and social democratic values should become the basis of a realistic policy, he added.

Some of the subsequent responses to delegate Kyuchukov stated to the speaker that it does not matter what other people think about us. Following Filip Bokov's statement, who also elaborated on the subject of the party's image, someone asked whether we should really be trying to please Comrade Dertliev.

Filip Bokov pointed out that a contemporary party cannot be modern and left wing, unless it relies on social democracy. Recently, however, the word social democracy is again considered a dirty word in our party, he said. This is a deviation from the program of the 39th BSP Congress, which adopted the approach based on values and not on ideology. The reform has stopped, Bokov stated. This was confirmed by the loss of 1 million votes during the last parliamentary elections, he added. It shows the trend of diminishing public support for the BSP. Our approach to the Moscow coup, which numerous party members were inclined to accept, is the touchstone for the changes underway, Bokov pointed out. [passage omitted]

Chavdar Kyuranov, who submitted an alternative political document to the congress (Kyuranov's "alternative" will be published in one of DUMA's next issues), announced that two trends, two fundamental views on the party's political tactics and strategy have appeared within the last two years and following the 39th BSP Congress. The common feature of the two trends is that they both advocate the party's transformation. The fundamental weakness of the first trend is that it has not totally severed its links with the past and with all its negative aspects. The second trend is based on the final separation from the past and the construction of a party policy based on social democratic values, according to the speaker.

Chavdar Kyuranov further dwelled on the general changes that occurred in the country following the 39th BSP Congress and the establishment of a coalition government. The party was incapable of implementing the economic reform on its own, he said. This is also how it could survive as a political force. Following this, Kyuranov pointed out the serious deficiencies that were allowed to occur in domestic policy.

It is very easy, but too superficial, to blame failures on a power struggle within the party leadership, Kyuranov stated. The general political activities of the BSP in society are unsatisfactory as a whole, and this is what caused a certain isolation of the party from the workers' class and from part of the intelligentsia, the artistic-creative group in particular, and also from parties to which we are closely related by tradition, which applies especially to our relations with the political center, Kyuranov stressed.

He defined the role of the BSP as neither an extremely left-wing party, nor as a party moving toward the right wing. The place of the BSP should be between the left-wing communist parties and the right of the center. On an international scale, the BSP should be one of the social democratic parties, and if this has not happened yet, it should be attributed to the slow change. [passage omitted]

In connection with the law on BSP property, recently adopted by parliament, Zhan Videnov stressed that no matter what the BSP leadership did, the law would have been adopted anyway. [passage omitted].

Vladimir Vl. Topencharov thinks that the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]-Movement tends toward fascism. This progress is likely to continue and will be expressed in repressive measures, directed not only against the BSP, but against large social strata. The time of the wise party dispensing ready-made advice and formulas for the solution of all problems has disappeared, Topencharov said. It is high time for pragmatic actions. The party should reach every home, every individual citizen.

We have not yet answered the question about the true nature of social democracy under contemporary conditions, Topencharov said. He advocates the drafting of certain party documents that should be adopted as a basis for inner-party discussions over the following months and even for the next one or two years. He also pointed out the necessity of building a new one-party apparatus, which should be financially independent and should not be supported by the BSP, but should strive for positions among the business circles, rather than dismantling the existing apparatus. [passage omitted]

There is no time for theorizing under the present circumstances, Professor Dobrin Spasov pointed out in his statement. We must answer the question of what is awaiting us and what to do under the current situation. I am neither a Lilovist, nor a Tomovist, but simply a socialist, and I think that a certain "hardening" of party positions is quite logical today. It is a physical law that

additional energy is accumulating under pressure. Therefore, some people expect our re-Bolshevization as a reaction to their re-fascistization. He warned that there is a danger of the BSP's being made a subject of provocation if it accused of all sorts of conspiracies with the aim of getting the party banned. However, as long as there is still a spark of democracy in our country, we shall not act against the law.

Social tension is likely to increase in the near future. However, this tension could lose its natural course when confronted with stupid rulers and personal mediators under Bulgaria's colonization. The BSP should not assume the role of a punished sinner. It should present itself to the world with a bold new image and with manly courage. We should strive with all legal means for the consolidation of the party's popular image. The most effective manifestation of our renewal would be to become the party of all honest Bulgarians, the speaker stressed.

He expressed his conviction that our party can no longer exist without a clearly defined policy toward the trade unions. The question of the party's leadership is being artificially fanned. We need leaders with different qualities, but this is not a misfortune, because the tasks that await us are very extensive, Dobrin Spasov pointed out.

I propose that we support the warning strike scheduled for 8 January 1992 by the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, Aleksandur Tomov stated. Let us show the "dark blue" government that, in pursuing its monetary policy, it cannot ignore us. One of the BSP's major tasks is to master the realm opening opportunities for private business, Tomov declared.

Criticism and the confrontation of different views within the party leadership should not be described as infighting, Aleksandur Tomov stressed. Lack of efficiency in the work of the party leadership is not a result of the discussions held in connection with adopting decisions. After the BSP lost power at all levels, plans are being made to settle accounts with the BSP cadres. This is not the famous dismantling of communism, as they are trying to convince us, but a new form of totalitarianism, Tomov warned. The demolition of the BSP structures is the next task that the SDS intends to deal with. Therefore, it is necessary to build flexible, new structures, capable of acting under the new economic conditions resulting from the establishment of private business and from the emerging financial crisis of the BSP, Aleksandur Tomov stressed. [passage omitted]

Georgi Pirinski intervened in the discussion with the following remark: If we were a reformed party, we would discuss the question of leadership after defining the political line we intend to pursue. He added fuel to the fire by announcing that Aleksandur Lilov's report was not adopted at a session of the Supreme Party Council.

The problem of the party's political line has been replaced by the problem of moral standards, Dimitur Yonchev pointed out. We are talking about moral and immoral leaders, instead of discussing the quality of concepts. In addition to this, all those of us who do not share the chairman's opinion are considered bad and amoral. The party's chance lies in finding its political line, but for the last two years the Presidium has been incapable of holding the necessary debate on this subject, Yonchev stated. In his opinion, this should be a policy of teaching people how to adjust to the new conditions, how to establish companies and cooperatives. Despite the unfavorable circumstances, the BSP should continue to insist on social privatization. Those among us who are pursuing the new policy have no intention whatsoever of splitting the party. It is our strength to be united, but not at the price of losing our identity. [passage omitted]

The debate on a project to amend the BSP statute began at yesterday's session. The congress continues its work today. The new party leadership will be announced. We shall publish detailed reports on the events in tomorrow's issue.

Text of Assembly's Party Property Law Published

AU1912144991 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 13 Dec 91 p 1

["Law on the Property of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, Fatherland Front, Dimitrov Communist Youth Union, Active Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism Union, and the Bulgarian Trade Unions," adopted by the National Assembly in Sofia on 12 December]

[Text]

Article 1

(1) The property acquired by the Bulgarian Communist Party, Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, Fatherland Front, Dimitrov Communist Youth Union, Active Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism Union, and the Bulgarian Trade Unions after 9 September 1944 is declared to be illegally owned. The aforesaid property is confiscated for the benefit of the state from the lawful successors of these organizations—the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United [BZNS-United], Fatherland Union, Bulgarian Democratic Youth, Antifascists Union, and the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB], except for the real estate that these organizations obtained as compensation for their fixed assets confiscated in 1934.

(2) The property according to the preceding paragraph comprises: real estate and ownership titles, chattels, securities, money, shares in trading associations and companies formed, contributions to associations formed for noneconomic purposes, and all other rights, items, and articles that form the property of a juridical entity, as well as additions to these accrued before the date this law comes into force.

(3) The property according to the preceding paragraph includes all property, with the exception of chattels that do not constitute basic assets, that was transferred by the organizations according to paragraph 1 to natural and juridical entities in Bulgaria and abroad in the period from 10 November 1989 to the date on which this law comes into effect, except property transferred to the municipalities and the state. The original and subsequent transactions referred to in the previous sentence are declared to be null and void.

(4) The entire property of the parties and organizations according to paragraph 1 owned by them in Bulgaria and abroad is transferred to the state.

Article 2

The Council of Ministers and the municipalities provide the BSP, BZNS-United, Fatherland Union, Bulgarian Democratic Youth, Antifascists Union, and the KNSB with the premises that they need to carry out their activities.

Article 3

(1) Within one year of this law coming into force, the municipalities may demand the restoration of municipal property acquired by the organizations, according to paragraph 1 above, that is made state property under this law. Within the same period, claimants whose real estate has been expropriated and included in the property defined in Article 1 may apply for cancellation of the expropriation, provided that the expropriated properties still exist.

(2) The claimants whose real estate has been expropriated and included in the property defined in Article 1, following restoration of their property, are to repay the compensation they received to the state.

Article 4

(1) Within one month of this law coming into force, the persons forming the leaderships of the organizations, according to paragraph 1, whose property is to be confiscated are obliged to submit to the minister of finance a declaration on the property owned by the organization and on the property according to Article 1 that has been transferred to third parties. Similar declarations are to be submitted within the same deadline by persons living in Bulgaria and abroad and the members of the governing bodies of juridical entities in Bulgaria and abroad which have assumed title to or own property under Article 1, including through unequal transactions.

(2) The Ministry of Finance may require declarations from natural persons and members of the governing bodies of juridical persons on information known to them on property transferred or handed over by the organizations according to Article 1 to third persons. The deadline for submitting the declarations is the same as in the preceding paragraph.

Article 5

Agreements for the rental of properties from the organizations according to Article 1, including the property that was returned or handed over to the state and the municipalities following 10 November 1989, are declared to be concluded for an indefinite period.

Article 6

The property that comes into state ownership under this law is appropriated by an order of the minister of finance, against which an appeal may be made according to the procedure defined in the Law on Administrative Actions.

Article 7

When this law takes effect, the debts owed to the state by the parties and organizations under Article 1, paragraph 1, are regarded as settled and any legal proceedings started are suspended.

Article 8

The Council of Ministers and the municipalities are bound to carry out their obligations under Article 2 within one month of this law coming into effect. Within this period, the expropriation according to Article 5 of this law may not be carried out, except for property handed over to companies and the BSP Party Headquarters in the city of Sofia.

Transitional and Concluding Provisions

1. The minister of finance is instructed to implement this law.

2. The law comes into force from the day of its publication in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK.

Editor's Note. It is possible that slight editorial changes may be made in the text following its publication in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK.

KNSB Resolution on Law

AU1912195991 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 13 Dec 91 p 1

["Extraordinary Resolution of the Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria"; place and date of issue not given]

[Text] The Law on Confiscation of Trade Union Property has been adopted. In connection with this, we announce the extraordinary decisions reached at an expanded session of the Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB]:

1. The KNSB organizations in enterprises and official departments will temporarily cease to pay their membership subscriptions to Sofia. The KNSB Executive Committee will later announce new bank accounts for making trade union membership contributions to

the federations and the confederation.

2. The KNSB Executive Committee, jointly with the leaderships of the federations, will prepare and convene an extraordinary KNSB congress in Pleven on 22 and 23 February 1992. A bank account for the collection of money to sponsor the congress will be announced within the next few days.
3. The KNSB Executive Committee will not sign declarations relating to the confiscation of the trade unions' legal property. Only a trade union referendum can compel us to do this.
4. The KNSB Executive Committee will submit complaints to the European Confederation of Trade Unions, the International Labor Organization, and the Council of Europe on the brutal infringement of trade union rights and freedoms and international law by the legislative authority in Bulgaria.

The KNSB organizations will carry out these decisions to the letter. Friends, keep calm! Remain firm in defending the strike claims of the Independent Trade Unions and the interests of our millions of members.

Intelligence Chief Views Secret Service Reforms

AU2012114591 Sofia BTA in English 0923 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—In today's "TRUD" the Bulgarian Intelligence Chief General Brigo Atanasov comments on the personnel changes in the national Intelligence Service. Forty-seven Intelligence Service employees have been pensioned off since he took office in early September.

General Atanasov describes the rumours that 200 "undesirable" employees will be dismissed by the end of this year as ridiculous. He points out that this would be impossible and would be tantamount to put an end to Bulgaria's intelligence. The new structure of the Intelligence Service should correspond to the financial resources and should meet the new requirements set to this institution. According to General Atanasov, the stress will be laid on activities in the Balkans, and in Europe the processes concerning Bulgaria's vital interests, above all the country's economic interests, will be watched.

In connection with the industrial intelligence gathering department which was disbanded last spring, General Atanasov explains that it was overstaffed: It employed 220 people. Most of the stations were in Europe, America and Japan and this made the department a safe haven for high-ranking officials' children. Most of the recalled officers have returned to Bulgaria, but many have stayed abroad. They have kept their diplomatic passports and office cars and do their private business. This is outrageous and harms Bulgaria's prestige, General Atanasov says. Appropriate action has been taken and the intelligence is looking forward to the passage of the National Intelligence Service Act.

In connection with a recent statement by Mr. Dimitur Yonchev M.P. [member of parliament] of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] about certain people trying to destroy Bulgarian intelligence, General Atanasov explains that the Intelliegence Service is only looking for "work on the right line." The dismissed employees are trying to make the public believe they were victimized and that the Intelligence Service is being destroyed.

Budget Deficit Expected To Stay Within Limits

AU1912164991 Sofia BTA in English 1620 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Sofia, December 19 (BTA)—"For 1991 we can expect a budgetary balance brought into equilibrium and maybe a certain surplus," the minister of finance, Mr. Ivan Kostov, told the press today. The reports received up to date give grounds to believe that the budget deficit fixed in the National Budget Act will not be exceeded, he added. The deficit specified in the National Budget Act amounts to 8,473.1 million leva.

The minister of finance explained that the total budget deficit including all budget liabilities for the year amounts to 22.5 billion leva, as it also includes the foreign debt service payments which will not be paid in 1991. The postponement of payments has been made possible as a result of the efforts of the debt management commission which succeeded in getting a rescheduling of three-month roll-overs, he explained. On passing the budget update act the previous National Assembly specified the size of the total deficit.

Prime Minister on Cooperation Accord With EC

PM2012094691 Paris LE MONDE in French 19 Dec 91 p 6

[Interview with Prime Minister Marian Calfa by correspondent Jean de la Gueriviere in Brussels—date not given]

[Text] Brussels—[De la Gueriviere] It took 11 months of laborious negotiations to arrive at these agreements [cooperation agreements between the EC and Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland signed in Brussels on 16 December]. Given your original hopes, are you satisfied?

[Calfa] In May 1991, we signed a commercial agreement. I said then that we should become associate members within a year and that we hoped to become full Community members within 10 years. If this 10-year period was shortened, we would be very satisfied. But it goes without saying that we must achieve a level of compatibility with your economies in all spheres. In Czechoslovakia, until 1948, we had a market economy. There are still people working in our country who remember that. We have the necessary assets to forget the more recent past. I think that the process leading to Community membership could be rapid. Obviously, we hoped for more in the agricultural sphere. But I regard the agreement as the best possible result from the negotiations.

[De la Gueriviere] At one time, France opposed an increase in meat imports from your three countries. Are you still bitter about that?

[Calfa] I made a private visit to your country this summer. I crossed the central area. Farmers were stopping traffic and handing out leaflets. A French driver in front of me refused to take them. The farmers then completely destroyed his car. I was afraid. I realized then how far they could go and that there was a problem.

The agreement reflects what is possible. We will be able to export 7,000 tonnes of cheese. The Central European countries can contribute 25 percent to the triangular operations to send supplies to the USSR, financed by the Community. We have reduced state subsidies on the production of wine and meat that was formerly supplied to the USSR. Aside from wine, we no longer have embarrassing surpluses. It is true that we are not using all our production capacities.

[De la Gueriviere] Could your membership of the Community be coordinated with Hungary and Poland?

[Calfa] The basic document of the association agreement is the same for our three countries, but the annexes are different. It is known that there are disagreements among Poles with regard to what should be done in the future. We have decided to coordinate our applications with Hungary and Poland, if possible, to achieve membership by the end of the century.

[De la Gueriviere] What do you think of the Maastricht summit results?

[Calfa] Integration among the Twelve has undoubtedly been increased. That is particularly important because, on the other side of Europe, the trend is toward disintegration. Maastricht is a strong signal to our Czech and Slovak Republic, in which this trend toward disintegration exists.

[De la Gueriviere] On Friday, the cooperation council of the NATO members and the former Warsaw Pact members will meet for the first time. What do you expect from that?

[Calfa] The bipolar world no longer exists, but there are still problems. A new state body has been formed on our borders—Ukraine. I do not feel that we are threatened, but we are obviously watching that with close attention from the viewpoint of our security. At all events, we are asking NATO to assess the situation and to offer us some kind of protection. At first, NATO did not accept that kind of appeal. But the changes in the USSR are so turbulent that the Atlantic Alliance finally woke up to the problems. We have recognized Ukraine, but we do not have diplomatic relations. Before, we wanted to know what solution would be found for the security problems, notably as regards nuclear arms. We also want to know whether it will take responsibility for our credit to the USSR: $5 billion....

Evaluates Agreement's Specifics

AU1912145991 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 17 Dec 91 p 9

["(GR)"-signed report: "Marian Calfa on the Economic Boon of the European Treaty"]

[Text]

Industrial Products

With the exception of textiles and steel, on the date the agreement takes effect the EC will remove all import quotas, and import duties will be radically slashed. As far as the textile and garment industries are concerned, the agreement foresees two stages. By 1992, quotas on 18 out of 43 groups of products will be removed. In 1993, other quotas should be increased by as much as 70 percent and, in the case of job orders, even 130 percent. The rest depends on the results of the GATT talks in Uruguay.

Food Industry

Here the reciprocity principle is in effect. There are a few sensitive items, however. In the case of mutton, our export quotas were increased from 800 to 2,000 tonnes per year. Half can be exported in the form of living animals, which we were not allowed to export at all due to resistance by France and southern countries. This is an important step to meet us halfway. On the other hand, the EC does not want our powdered milk and butter exports to be increased for the time being. Regarding cereals, we succeeded in exchanging our quota on corn already imported to our country for our exports of malt

barley and wheat flour. In the case of food products, such as yogurt, margarine, sweets, chocolate, liquors, and soups, we will retain import duties until 1994, while the EC will cancel them immediately.

Transportation

Greece exerted strong pressure to increase our transit permits from 2,000 to 4,000 per year. In exchange for this obligation, we acquired the EC promise to participate in extending our transportation infrastructure. At the same time, we anticipate that piggyback transportation [kombinovana preprava] will be introduced next year. To ease the situation on our roads, we have to solve technical problems connected with the transportation of trucks via railroad.

Industry and Private Enterprise

The modernization and restructuring of our industry got unequivocal support. Above all, the EC wants to help unify technical regulations, particularly as far as the compatibility of our electrotechnical products is concerned. The EC will help us carry out the conversion of our industry. Conditions for energy transport will improve, which will help modernize our infrastructure. They will help improve our ecology, modernize and extend our telecommunications, and develop border regions and specifically selected regions. A large amount of economic cooperation will be oriented toward encouraging elements of private initiative.

Slovakia's Demes Discusses Ukraine Relations

AU2012105991 Prague CSTK in English 1718 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Prague Dec 18 (CSTK)—Slovak Minister for International Relations Pavol Demes said at a press conference in Prague today Czechoslovakia must coordinate its approach towards the question of recognising Croatian and Slovenian independence with neighbouring Poland and Hungary. He also called for the Czech and Slovak Republics to coordinate their views on the issue.

On the subject of the breakup of the Soviet Union, Demes said Slovakia has not yet received a concrete offer for direct cooperation with the "Commonwealth of Independent States", being set up by Russia, Ukraine and Byelorussia. "We are trying to hold bilateral talks with the republics of the former Soviet Union", Demes said, describing the current situation as "unclear".

"During our discussions in Ukraine we said we do not intend to revise the borders or claim the territory of another state", he said. "As far as I know none of the Slovak political parties has called for the annexation of Subcarpathian Rus [Ruthenia]", he noted, referring to a region in Western Ukraine which was part of Czechoslovakia between the two world wars.

Demes said he is "ever more satisfied" with the number of Slovaks in Czechoslovakia's diplomatic corps, particularly among ambassadors. "But I am not yet fully satisfied", he added.

Dealing with the controversial construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros dams project on the Danube, Demes called the issue a potential threat to Czechoslovakia's relations with Hungary.

Havel Assesses Results of Visit to Egypt

LD1912174391 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by station correspondent Pavla Jazairova and LIDOVE NOVINY correspondent Tomas Smetanek at the end of his visit to Egypt; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] You met with the secretary general of the League of Arab Countries, and you spoke with President Mubarak. You certainly know that there has been frequent mention of Czechoslovakia in the Arab press as being a country that has, in substance, changed its economic and political style and does not actually want to cooperate with the Arab countries. Do you think this is an erroneous interpretation of this policy?

[Havel] It is possible that such an impression may have arisen in the Arab world because we have really somewhat cooled our relations with some of the less pleasant Arab regimes, and we stopped delivering some types of strategic goods, etc. But, on the whole, it is an erroneous impression. It may have been created after we forged diplomatic relations with Israel and significantly deepened our relations with the United States. So, such an impression may have been created. But that was also one of the reasons for this visit to Egypt, to somehow ensure the Arab world that we are not biased against it and that we want to link up with certain good traditions that we have had since the time of the First Republic, and that was received favorably.

I must say that we shared very similar views on basic political questions, and I think it is necessary to stress that Islam really is not identical with extremism, terrorism, and fundamentalism. On the other hand, President Mubarak told me, for example, that correctly speaking, the terrorist is the traitor of Islam. In Europe, there is sometimes an inclination to identify Islam with fundamentalist terrorism. It is true that in some Arab countries there are orthodox regimes that can therefore create a more favorable climate for such phenomena, but Egypt is a country that is sytematically building democratic institutions, and it is probably one of the most democratic countries in the Arab world. I think it also has a positive effect on the other countries. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] I understood from the various views published in the Egyptian press that the policy of Egypt, the policy of President Mubarak, is slow democratization, the priority solution of economic problems before the problems of democracy, and, let us say, total freedom of press and so on. He also compared this, I think, with the Soviet example, where he said that the economy had collapsed but politically the country had opened up, and that China was the opposite extreme. Do you think that in a certain part of the world, like Egypt or the Middle East, such a procedure was justified?

[Havel] Probably yes. They have a functioning parliamentary democracy, but in order to put it right, President Mubarak holds everything firmly in his hands, and his party is the largest in parliament and controls the Army, which is very strong. He has certain reasons of his own for supporting the main instruments of power, especially the Army, why he supports them, and why they have to be so strong. He has his good reasons.

It is probably not a full democracy like in France or England, but it is a democracy. They have an opposition, they have a free press, they are even allowing the royal family to return. The members of the family can travel to Egypt, in spite of having been dethroned by the revolution. Of course, one would have to know more and be better acquainted with various documents, would have to know what has been uncovered by human rights watch groups; he would have to know how prisoners are treated, and so on. We, indeed, had neither conditions nor time for that or, more exactly, opportunity to study such matters, but on the whole, compared to other Arab countries, I would say that Egypt is probably the best off.

SNR Session Indicates Division in Coalition

AU1912173391 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 16 Dec 91 p 3

["CHK"-signed report: "The Government Coalition Is on Its Last Legs"]

[Text] The 19th Slovak National Council [SNR] session ended on 13 December. Very few deputies were in attendance, and they obviously found it hard to concentrate. It was a meeting that tapered off, so to speak, into nothing.

This does not mean that it did not come to some specific and, at the same time, significant conclusions. These include a resolution to submit—after a linguistic and editorial modification—a joint proposal for a Slovak Republic constitution to public discussion from 15 December 1991 to 31 January 1992.

The plenum also authorized the SNR Presidium to continue its talks with the Czech National Council [CNR] Presidium, emphasizing the principle of an accord and its ratification in the drafting of the treaty between the republics and the new constitution for the common state. The question of whether the treaty is to be a legal act between the CNR and the SNR, as proposed by the Czech side, or a treaty between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, as demanded by the Slovak side, remains the most serious point of controversy.

The very content of the treaty is still controversial in the points concerning our merger into the European integration process, the division of certain powers, and the continually discussed problem of whether only the federation, or the national republics, too, would be recognized by international law.

So far, not even an agreement on the form of the future legislative body of the common state has been reached. Ivan Carnogursky, SNR first deputy chairman, criticized the CNR resolution of 10 December 1991, in which the CNR stated that it does not consider an amendment to Article 142 of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation to be absolutely necessary.

The Slovak Republic Government report regarding the state of and prospects for the Slovak economy delivered by Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Anton Vavro was received in some parts with harsh criticism. The fact that this report, which was eventually not approved because of the insufficient attendance, was not "spared" even by two Christian Democratic Movement deputies—Anton Andras and Pavol Boron—could only have surprised a very superficial observer. It was just another serious signal of the worsening crisis in relations within the Slovak coalition. While, for instance, Slovak Economy Minister Jozef Belcak (Christian Democratic Movement) declared that politics does not prevent the influx of capital, Slovak Industry Minister Jan Holcik (Democratic Party) described political instability as the main cause of the problems.

The speech by Deputy A. Andras, who belongs to the top echelons of the Christian Democratic Movement leadership, can undoubtedly be understood as another harsh attack by the Christian Democrats on the economic concept of their partners in the government coalition. Was the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence Party the target? Among other things, Andras said: "We will probably agree that something must be done, that we cannot wait with folded arms until, some time in the future the market solves everything for us. The market is blind, just as the state was when it directed the economy for 40 years without any regard to economic correlations or needs. It is our duty to regulate the market. Particularly at a time of a crisis and dwindling business activities, the state must provide incentives for entrepreneurs to create jobs. These are the words of Pope John Paul II, who cannot be accused of left-wing tendencies, and according to these words, our state, the state center, must help to create scope for enterprise and reduce the conditions for the entry of foreign capital."

On the Bratislava political scene, many symptoms indicate that the current Slovak Government coalition is on its last legs in an atmosphere of mutual profound misunderstanding regarding the fundamental conceptual

disputes. The next, the 20th, session of the SNR, which is to begin as early as Tuesday, will provide additional indications regarding the future fate of the coalition.

Civic Democratic Party To Expand to Slovakia

LD1912032991 Prague CSTK in English 1340 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Prague Dec 18 (CSTK)—The Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the strongest party in the Czech Republic, decided Tuesday to expand its activity to Slovakia, ODS Deputy Chairman Jozef Zieleniec told journalists today. He said the ODS Executive Committee made the decision "at the request of Slovak colleagues".

Since its founding last April, the ODS has been registered as a political party only in the Czech Republic. Led by Federal Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, the right-wing ODS is one of two groups formed after the breakup of the Civic Forum in February. The other is the Civic Movement (OH), led by Federal Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier.

The ODS has consistently topped the polls in the Czech Republic, and currently has about 20 per cent voter support. ODS official Petr Havlik said the ODS has about 25 thousand registered members.

Future of Party-Sponsored Newspapers Viewed

AU1912104691 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 13 Dec 91 p 1

[Interview with Martin Porubjak, first Slovak deputy prime minister and chairman of the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence, by Jozef D. Janosko; place and date not given: "Party Press Has No Future"]

[Excerpts] [Janosko] During the three-day East-West journalists' conference at Modra-Harmonia, many different views were expressed on the independence of the Slovak mass media. Many of them declare their independence, but basically they still profit from the totalitarianism of the past, which is evident in their print run, economic liquidity, and the like. Mr. Porubjak, have conditions been established for the emergence of truly independent political newspapers in Slovakia?

[Porubjak] [passage omitted] Perhaps the most topical issue now is the independence of mass media in the sense of their political orientation. I believe that, precisely from this viewpoint, the party press does not have a chance to survive. It is actually lingering on as residue of past practices. In my opinion, such a direct dependence does not have a very bright future. As a matter of fact, this is also borne out by the print runs of party newspapers and journals, by the number of unsold copies, and by the limits on the publication of advertisements, precisely in view of their circulation. [passage omitted]

It is relatively hard to speak of economic independence in our situation. There are periodicals who evidently are financially sound, and there are those that are having problems acquiring strong financial support. The mass media market is also relatively limited, which is related to the number of potential readers. It is not and will not be all that easy for the mass media to achieve independence. [passage omitted]

I see the future viability of the party press in their transformation into shareholding companies. That is perhaps the best and only realistic chance for them to survive. I stress that direct dependence does not establish a favorable climate for the kind of news medium that our newspaper represents. After all, people are buying newspapers in order to be informed as objectively as possible. By this, I am not suggesting that other dailies are more objective than party dailies. There is, however, a certain belief by readers that a newspaper published by a political party cannot be impartial, that is, independent. This concerns VEREJNOST as well as SLOVENSKY DENNIK, which is sponsored by the Christian Democratic Movement. [passage omitted]

Diplomatic Ties Planned With Ex-USSR Republics

LD1912201491 Budapest MTI in English 1854 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Budapest, December 19 (MTI)—In addition to the Russian Republic, the Ukraine and the three Baltic republics, Hungary will establish diplomatic relations with the other former Soviet republics pronouncing their independence with due regard to the prevailing circumstances and appropriate dates, government spokesman Balazs Laszlo told journalists at recess of the government session today.

The Hungarian Government sets no special conditions to the recognition of the republics, but attaches great importance to whether they meet their appropriate share of the commitments undertaken by the former Soviet Union.

Government spokeswoman Judit Juhasz announced that from January 1, the government will issue passports with the new Hungarian coat of arms and the bearer's data in the six official UN languages. From now on, the passports will be obtainable from civilian authorities, instead of the police.

Fur Comments on Moscow Military Cooperation Pact

LD1912213691 Budapest MTI in English 2040 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Budapest, December 19 (MTI)—Hungarian Defence Minister Lajos Fur returned to Budapest from Kiev this evening, having earlier signed in Moscow a military co-operation agreement with Soviet Defence Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov.

On arriving to Tokol military airport near Budapest, Fur told journalists that the five-year agreement concluded in Moscow follows the pattern of previous accords with Romania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria and other European countries. It is stipulated in a clause to the agreement that should the name of one of the contracting parties change, the text of the accord will be modified accordingly.

In Kiev, Fur and Defence Minister Konstantin Morozov issued a joint communique declaring the mutual intention to carry on friendly relations and co-operation. The meeting was attended by the Ukrainian economic minister, with whom possibilities for military-industrial cooperation were discussed.

Fur also met Romanian Defence Minister Nicolae Spiroiu in Moscow. They discussed the possibility of organizing an international open skies conference in Budapest or Bucharest in February of next year.

Goncz Appoints Ministers, New Office Supervisors

LD2012043391 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Text] Minister Without Portfolio Balazs Horvath will supervise the National Physical Education and Sports Office, which will operate directly under the government, beginning next month. State Secretary (Rezsoe Gallov) will continue to head the office. On the prime minister's recommendation, the president appointed Ivan Szabo, one of the Hungarian Democratic Forum's economic experts, as industry and commerce minister and Janos Martonyi, who until now was the state secretary for the International Economic Relations Ministry, as administrative state secretary for the Foreign Ministry. Jeno Laszlo, currently state secretary for the Industry and Commerce Ministry, will chair the newly created Military Industry Office beginning in January.

IMF Assessment of Economic Reform Program Noted

LD1912112191 Budapest MTI in English 0932 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Washington, December 19 (MTI)—The two main elements of the Hungarian economic reform programme are being well enforced: The balance of payments is sound and inflation has considerably declined. At the same time, foreign capital is being invested in the country in a manner unparalleled in the region. On the basis of this, the country's economy can show a growth in 1992, a senior official of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) said, summing up the IMF's evaluation, in answer to a question by MTI, Washington correspondent.

The official, who asked to remain unnamed, analyzed the past year and said: Although there was reason for disappointment, the phenomena due to the collapse of the CMEA market were unavoidable. Hungarian economy would have shown a growth this year, were it not for this negative factor. At the same time, it is extremely positive that this effect was considerably lessened, and that more than half of the export lost this way was re-directed to the West. The final figures of the 1991 balance of payments are expected to reflect a considerable balance.

Another significant fact is that foreign capital is being invested in the country at a growing pace, unparalleled in the region. The value of cash and investments in 1990-91 was far higher than 2.5 billion dollars and the IMF expects at least a similar rate of capital influx for 1992.

The official was of the opinion that inflation was successfully halted: Its rate in the second half of the year was only one per cent a month.

The International Monetary Fund has acknowledged the greater than planned deficit of the Hungarian state budget, as this is the consequence of the lower than

planned revenues, rather than of over-spending. The main point is to continue the hitherto financial policy, and to avoid a budget deficit which would prevent the implementation of the government's economic programme, and the halting of inflation, the IMF expert said.

Federation of Romanians Views Minority Problems

AU2012102991 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 18 Dec 91 p 3

[Interview with Gheorghe Petrusan, chairman of the Federation of Romanians in Hungary, and Petru Campean, chief editor of the Romanian-language radio broadcasts in Szeged, by Vilmos Agoston; place and date not given: "We Need a Law on National Minorities"]

[Text] The National and Ethnic Minority Office and the experts of the National Federation of Hungarian Journalists organized a conference about the national minority image in the mass media. Several high-level scientific lectures were given at this two-day conference, and we asked the representatives of the Romanians in Hungary present at this conference about the issues discussed there.

Gheorghe Petrusan told us that, just like the other national minorities, the Romanians in Hungary are mostly worried about how to preserve their traditions, identity, and culture of their language.

[Petrusan] It is very difficult for a small national minority like the Romanians in Hungary living at the periphery of the Romanian nation and with a foreign language surrounding them to preserve its mother tongue, even if the social conditions are relatively positive and not hostile.

[Agoston] What is the approximate number of Romanians in Hungary?

[Petrusan] We do not have exact data, but we think that there are about 20,000-25,000 people who still regard themselves as Romanians. Regarding their origin, it is possible that this number is bigger, because a lot of Greek Orthodox people now identify themselves as Hungarians, and a lot of people are still afraid to admit their true identity, lest they are identified with the Ceausescu-regime or with everything that happened after the Romanian revolution. The truth is that we did not have much contact with Romania and the language and traditions there. Therefore, our mentality and approach are quite different from those of the people in Romania.

[Agoston] What is your opinion about the national minority law currently being prepared in Hungary?

[Petrusan] This law is very important, but perhaps the changes that have taken place in our political life are just as important. Many Romanians here think that they had a more advantageous situation in the previous regime and the state better supported and protected them from extremist attacks. We know that the national minority policy here had many elements that were only based on empty declarations. However, in general, the Romanian minority here felt more secure under the previous conditions than today. This new and uncertain period—which naturally is leading toward democracy and therefore we should welcome it—has created dissatisfaction and concern among the national minorities. It seems that in this part of Europe democracy is manifested in more open anti-minority and extremist nationalist attacks. These tensions were present in the past, too, but they are emerging now because there are people who think that attacking the national minority is part of their freedom. Therefore, it is very important to legislate a law on national minorities and submit it to parliamentary approval.

[Agoston] Have you been consulted about the bill on national minorities currently being prepared?

[Petrusan] Our federation participates in the coordination roundtable discussions that are debating and preparing this bill. Both we and the Hungarian officials have just realized how difficult it is to create general legal regulations on this issue. It is not easy to come to an agreement because, precisely as a result of previous sad experiences, several national minority members in Hungary do not want to register as national minorities. Many Gypsies, Jews, and even Romanians are afraid of this discrimination. Germans and Slovaks had been harassed here before, and many anti-Serbian manifestations took place in the fifties. Later, when this invasion of people from Romania began here, a lot of ethnic Romanians here were afraid that they might be exchanged for ethnic Hungarians in Romania.

There are such fears and, therefore, these people do not want at all to be registered as Romanians. The other issue is that we are expecting economic guarantees from the Hungarian state. We can declare in vain that we have rights if there are no guarantees for the implementation of these rights. We hope to come to an agreement on state financing of national minority institutions, including the issue of self-government and parliamentary representation. Under the current parliamentary form, even if the national minorities had some representatives in parliament, the majority would automatically vote them down. A two-chamber parliament would be the ideal solution, but the current political forces do not consider this a possibility. At most, they can imagine the creation of an advisory body in charge of national minority affairs, and hopefully, also having veto rights.

[Agoston] What kind of relations do you maintain with Romania?

[Petrusan] As far as the previous Romanian system was concerned, we did not exist. This situation has fortunately changed since 1989, because we receive various kinds of cultural aid. Financially, we live in quite secure

circumstances. We need teachers, educators, and cultural experts. Relations between the churches are good, but cooperation between schools and the Romanian villages are also important. Romania is quite open on this issue. It is we who are concerned over certain political manifestations in Romania. We need more time to understand the reality there. It will take some time before we can integrate or return to the Romanian intellectual and cultural life. After all, this is what we need because otherwise, we will not be able to preserve our language and our culture for a long time.

[Campean] The whole program structure [of Romanian language broadcasts from Szeged] will be changed beginning on 6 January 1992. There will be a 30-minute broadcast. [not further specified] Unfortunately, we have problems. The development of infrastructure is not keeping abreast of requirements. We have to create the planned 30-minute program in the same financial conditions that we had before. There are only two of us for the 90-minute increase and we cannot pay 600-800 forints more to outside contributors. The trouble is that everything still starts from above. No one asked us whether we needed the 30-minute transmission time. It was decided from above that this was needed and it was implemented.

It appears that people still make decisions about our fate without first asking us. We have not even been informed officially on the plans, our opinion is not sought. A decree was made on starting on 6 January and that is that. It is very hard to work under these circumstances because we would like to be able to do a good quality job in our increased time. We or our listeners were not asked whether broadcasting on VHF via the central transmitter in Budapest, which can only be received in a rather limited area, would be suitable for us. How will people be able to receive the VHF when they cannot even receive the programs of the Kossuth and Petofi channels very well? In addition, we have to compete with the television news because our slot coincides with it. There is a similar situation in the case of Romanian language television programs. There are 25 minutes of television programs a week and Hungary can proudly show this to the West or the East, but no one wants to understand our difficulties.

Skubiszewski Views Successful NATO Contacts

LD1912213391 Warsaw PAP in English 1918 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 19—Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski described his participation in a meeting of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council on Friday as the completion of Polish efforts to establish cooperation with the North Atlantic Alliance and added that this success results from the "very consistent policy of both previous governments."

Skubiszewski, who left Warsaw for Brussels on Thursday, stated that the joining by Poland and other states of central and eastern Europe of the NATO Cooperation Council will bring fruit in cooperation at various levels, particularly with military structures.

"A possibility of convening sessions—also with our participation—in case of emergency situations, following our motions, is of major importance for our security and tightening of relations with the NATO," the foreign minister said.

Skubiszewski on Conditions for Lithuania Visit

LD1912213791 Warsaw PAP in English 1942 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 19—Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said he would like to visit Lithuania as soon as possible but "there is no good atmosphere for such a visit."

Before his visit, the minister expects the Lithuanian authorities to start observing European norms and principles of friendly co-existence. Meanwhile, various developments in Lithuania are making things even worse: Polish property in Vilnius is no longer eligible for re-privatisation, Polish TV programmes are to be cancelled, and the date of elections to Polish local governments is still unknown, all this being "a definite step backwards" at the time when the whole Europe gives more protection to ethnic minorities, Skubiszewski stated.

He also said that Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis on Thursday received a letter from President Lech Walesa. The Polish foreign minister announced he plans to visit Kiev, the Ukraine.

German Border Cooperation Plan Discussed

PM1912164491 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 7-8 Dec 91 p 3

[Bruno Brozyniak article: "Between Poverty and Prosperity?"]

[Text] "The Odra-Neisse Border Is a Border of Peace." This slogan was drummed into our heads for long decades. Today the question arises whether this border is to constitute a dreary dividing line between poverty and prosperity: between the affluent countries of Western Europe and the bunch of impoverished countries of the erstwhile communist bloc.

On behalf of all Germans, Brandenburg Prime Minister Manfred Stolpe presented a project for a border development zone adjacent to the River Odra devised as an area enjoying preferential economic treatment. The River Odra Zone ["Oderraum" in German] is envisaged as a borderland belt some 50 km wide on the Western side and some 100 km wide on the Polish side. The German section would cover an area of 21,000 square km and have a population of 2.3 million, whereas the Polish section would extend over 32,000 square km and have a population of 2.6 million.

The plan envisages the creation of a joint development bank with a capital of 500 million Deutsche marks, with the Polish share restricted to 30 percent. The bank would be managed by a German, with a Polish deputy manager, and its headquarters would be in Berlin. The German partners show a particular interest in the River Odra estuary. They recommend that either a free port be established in the Szczecin area, or a free trade zone be set up under international management. It is proposed that a German economic zone be created on the island of Uznam [Polish territory]. According to the project, the entire port complex of Szczecin-Swinoujscie would, in effect, become another Hong Kong-type territory, complete with an influx of foreign capital and foreign businessmen, chiefly from Asia.

German experts suggest that the structure of the agricultural industry throughout the Odra Zone should undergo extensive transformation. In their opinion, some of the less productive arable land should be afforested and turned into nature reserves. The only approved agricultural production ventures in the zone would be large private farms and food processing centers, including fish product manufacturing plants. All these would rely on the latest Western food production technologies. There are also plans to organize a joint German-Polish agricultural show in Goerlitz.

Other, more wide-ranging, projects include the construction of a proper freeway designed to link the Scandinavian countries with Southern Europe (Czecho-Slovakia already has a freeway between Hradec Kralove and Bratislava); the modernization of the Odra waterway; a revision of the old plan to open an Odra-Danube canal; the creation of folk arts and crafts centers and an art restoration and conservation facility in the Polish section of the Odra zone.

Apart from these large-scale plans, the project contains many proposals for the launching of lesser projects—for example, a large commercial and trading center near Frankfurt an der Oder (to take the strain off Berlin's trading centers, which can barely cope with the hordes of our small-scale commercial entrepreneurs); the manufacture of packaging material in Gorzow and Zielona Gora; and a center for research into and implementation of technology

for the manufacture of vehicle fuel from rapeseed oil, to be set up near Gubin. The Odra Zone would extend over a part of Lower Silesia and include within its territory the voivodships of Jelenia Gora and Legnica. There are still relatively few detailed proposals concerning these two regions. The ones listed include the development of German Zittau as a center of modern industrial technologies. This could also provide an opportunity for development in the neighboring Jelenia Gora Voivodship. Legnica could, in turn, become a center for the manufacture of modern food processing machinery.

The German proposal encountered tempestuous response from our Polish media. For weeks now, the Polish press has been publishing articles, letters, and other items of various length on the subject. On the whole, their attitude toward the whole scheme is critical. Some recall the German expansionist tendencies and dub the scheme a new "Drang nach Osten" [drive to the East] campaign. Others point to the obvious "imbalance" of the scheme's proposed control and decision-making system, which would be biased to the German partners' advantage. One thing is clearly beyond dispute here: Our affluent Western neighbor has produced an extensive, detailed proposal that, by the very nature of things, reflects the interests, opinions, and postulations of the German side.

In my opinion, we should approach the Stolpe plan calmly, without unnecessary emotion or excitement. We should simply carry out a detailed methodical analysis of every aspect of the proposal, consider the acceptability and feasibility of each individual suggested project, and decide what can be accepted and what should be rejected, because it could be detrimental to our national interest. But our approach to the whole question must be objective and businesslike and follow the best principles of good-neighbor partnership.

It is worth recalling here that the Germans already have interesting and worthwhile experience of cooperation with France in the Alsace region, and with Austria in the Alps (jointly operated power generating plants and shared cattle pastures). A number of German laender have negotiated mutual agreements with their Polish neighbors on cooperation in such areas as between respective local government bodies and projects, environmental protection, access to and use of national parks, the modernization of factories situated near the borders and employment of mixed work forces, and also the development of tourism and improvement of the sector serving the tourist movement. Daily practice has already shown that such contacts will continue to develop at a lively rate across the Odra-Nysa border.

Szczecin authorities already cooperate with the Germans without waiting for definitive intergovernmental agreements. Thanks to this cooperation, the city will be able to benefit from access to the sea water desalination complex. Also, within the same scheme, a new hotel will be built in neighboring Swinoujscie. In addition, the two sides are currently considering a joint scheme for recycling waste materials and a proposal to open new bus lines—for example, along a route connecting Szczecin and Wollgast.

The key problem regarding our approach to the Stolpe plan is the need to produce a corresponding Polish plan of comparable scope and overall structure that matches the German proposal in its attention to detail. I believe that this would enable us to prepare a definitive joint agreement that would take equal account of both partners' interests and needs. Before a comprehensive memorandum of this kind is drawn up, we will endeavor to present in these columns the opinions of two men who are most directly interested in this proposed development in Lower Silesia, since the regions which they administer are included in the Stolpe plan for the privileged Odra Zone: Jerzy Nalichowski, voivoda of Jelenia Gora, and Andrzej Glapinski, voivoda of Legnica.

UD Rejects Membership in Olszewski Cabinet

LD2012050991 Warsaw PAP in English 0341 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 20—Leader of the largest parliamentary grouping, the Democratic Union (UD), Tadeusz Mazowiecki announced on Friday his party will not join the Jan Olszewski cabinet. Mazowiecki was talking to reporters after his meeting with Prime Minister Jan Olszewski on Thursday evening followed by the meeting of the UD Presidium and parliamentary floor group. Mazowiecki told the prime minister his party's attitute to the Olszewski cabinet depends on a clear declaration that the new government favours anti- inflationary economic policies and is going to observe polands commitments towards international institutions.

The UD also wants the future government to be based on the coalition of the UD, Centre Alliance (PC) and the Liberal-Democratic Congress (KLD), the key ministries given in charge of people who will not use them in conflicts between parties, and local government posts filled according to the competence of candidates and not their party affiliation. Mazowiecki said Olszewski in principle has agreed with him but noted that in his mission time is of the essence and did not offer the Union any post in his cabinet. "Such a position rules out the Union's participation in the government," Mazowiecki said.

Skubiszewski Accepts Post; PSL May Join Coalition

LD1912223391 Warsaw PAP in English 2054 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 19—Acting on the request of President Lech Walesa, foreign minister in the two previous non-communist governments Krzysztof Skubiszewski decided Thursday to stay in office in the government being formed by Prime Minister Jan Olszewski, while

the government coalition is likely to be expanded by the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), the fourth largest grouping in the Parliament.

Skubiszewski conferred Thursday with Olszewski who offered him a post in his government, and was next received by Walesa who asked him to accept Olszewski's proposal. The president and the foreign minister discussed matters connected with the operation of the Foreign Ministry. The president's constitutional powers in this respect were stressed, the Belvedere press office annnounced afterwards. Before his departure for a meeting of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council in Brussels Skubiszewski told newsmen: "Governments change but the foreign policy stays."

Skubiszewski (65) has been foreign minister since 1989, first in the Tadeusz Mazowiecki and next the Jan Krzysztof Bielecki government. He is professor of international law and author of many publications on this subject.

Meanwhile, leaders of the PSL which voted Wednesday in the Parliament against the dismissal of Jan Olszewski, presented to the prime minister their programmatic guidelines, stressing the necessity to counteract recession, to ensure equal opportunities for all economic sectors and to create economic and financial conditions adjusted to the specific requirements of the food industry. The PSL also claims that it is necessary to re-negotiate with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank the terms of their assistance to Poland, PSL leader Waldemar Pawlak said.

The PSL decided to support Olszewski because no other serious candidate for the premiership has emerged, Pawlak told a news conference. "We decided to give a chance to Olszewski to reconstruct a coalition and base it on a broader political representation in the sejm, and also to form such a cabinet that would not be in conflict with the president," Pawlak declared. The PSL leader declined to confirm whether his party seeks three ministerial positions in the new government.

UD Leader on Coalition, Lack of Common Views

PM2012134491 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 9 Dec 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Piotr Nowina-Konopka, Democratic Union secretary general, by correspondent Henryk Sroczynski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Sroczynski] What is the Democratic Union's position on the mission entrusted to Jan Olszewski?

[Nowina-Konopka] The government formation procedure has only just begun. We must wait and see how it develops.

[Sroczynski] In this case, when can the Democratic Union be expected to reveal its attitude to the new cabinet?

[Nowina-Konopka] Once the composition of the government is announced and put to the vote, we can begin to assess it and announce our opinion of the prime minister's choice.

[Sroczynski] Is it likely that the prime minister will invite the Democratic Union to take part in forming the government?

[Nowina-Konopka] There has been nothing to indicate such an intention on the prime minister's part. After all, he is supported by the coalition of five center-right parties. We will closely observe the formula according to which he will put together his government program. This will provide the decisive guideline for us.

[Sroczynski] What comment would you make on the address delivered by Jan Olszewski immediately before the vote on his appointment to the post of prime minister?

[Nowina-Konopka] I must say that I found it somewhat inconsistent with all the declarations issued by the group of "Five," both during and after the parliamentary election. The content of Counselor Olszewski's address as candidate prime minister seemed to derive from an altogether different political camp than his coalition.

[Sroczynski] In your view, could it be that the prime minister decided to "open the door a bit wider?"

[Nowina-Konopka] Not at all! I would define the difference as a departure from the previous tone of the erstwhile "breakthrough coalition" and a move toward a tone suggesting a "coalition of sacrifices." Even with a massive dose of goodwill, I would find it very difficult to perceive the parties involved in the coalition as parties calling for sacrifices. They sound much more like parties expecting a political breakthrough in their favor.

[Sroczynski] Do you not agree that the economic programs of the "Five" and the Democratic Union show many similarities?

[Nowina-Konopka] So far the convergence between our respective programs is negligible. We will wait to see the content of Prime Minister Olszewski's program to be included in his official expose. I believe that it will be quite different to our own program.

[Sroczynski] Why did the Democratic Union's deputies abstain from voting in the decisive ballot on the question of approving Olszewski's appointment as prime minister?

[Nowina-Konopka] The Democratic Union parliamentary caucus did, indeed, decide to abstain from voting in that instance, because we preferred neither to give a blank check to the proposed candidate nor to oppose the candidacy supported by the majority of deputies. Let me reiterate: We will make a formal statement of our position vis-a-vis the government at a later stage, once the prime minister has announced his government program.

To date, Jan Olszewski's declarations contain insufficient indication of the nature of his program. We cannot base assessments on such scant material.

[Sroczynski] What are your forecasts for Jan Olszewski's government?

[Nowina-Konopka] It is too early to make forecasts in this matter. As I said, everything depends on the main theme of his program, and especially the part of his program concerned with the economy.

[Sroczynski] Will the Democratic Union form a parliamentary opposition bloc in conjunction with Polish Peasant Alliance?

[Nowina-Konopka] You are jumping to conclusions far too soon. As I keep repeating, we will make a definitive statement on our position once we have seen and examined the content of the government program.

Senate Approves 1991 Budget Amendment Resolution

LD2012061991 Warsaw PAP in English 1238 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 19—The Senate adopted on Thursday a resolution approving amendments to the 1991 budget law which allow to increase this year's budget deficit from 26 trillion zlotys to 31 trillion zlotys (some 3 billion dollars). The Senate resolved to notify the president about the decision. The Senate simultaneously called for acceleration of work on the provisional budget for 1992. The senators also adopted Thursday a resolution on Poland's accession to the Council of Europe stating that the Senate will guard democracy, freedom and civic rights in Poland. A special resolution was also adopted to honour former Polish president in exile Edward Raczynski, celebrating his 100th birthday on Dec. 19.

Trade Union Alliance Warns of Possible Strike

LD2012064591 Warsaw PAP in English 2202 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 19—In a resolution adopted Thursday the Council of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) warned that "a call for a general strike of unlimited duration may turn out to be the only option for the Alliance" if the government-proposed draft budget for the first quarter of 1992 and the guidelines of economic and social policy for 1992 were adopted by parliament.

"Both these documents attest to the intention (of the government) to continue economic and social policy pursued so far, something that the OPZZ cannot accept," Deputy Chairman of the Alliance Maciej Manicki told reporters after the meeting.

The Council instructed its newly elected chairwoman, Ewa Spychalska, to lodge a complaint on behalf of the Alliance with the European Human Rights Commission against the Polish Government and Parliament. "The laws being passed in Poland are incompatible with international standards," another deputy chairman of the Alliance Stanislaw Wisniewski explained.

Meanwhile, strikes continued in several urban centres throughout Poland. More than 80 percent of schools in the Lodz Province, central Poland, staged a one-day warning strike Thursday protesting over the planned budget austerity measures affecting education. The strike was organized by the Polish Teachers' Union. In the city of Lodz itself, Wifama and Majed textile factories were still on strike Thursday and chances for ending the protest this week were scant. "It is even possible that the sit-ins will go on during Christmas holidays," a local Solidarity official told PAP.

The strikers demand overdue pay but the managements are not able to meet this demand due to miserable financial condition of the factories. However, a glimmer of hope appeared today in the Majed case when the strike committee signed an agreement with the management and government representatives defining conditions of ending the sit-in, now in its third week. The hitch is that neither side is able to give any date for meeting the conditions. The board of Solidarity union in the Lodz Province decided Thursday that till the end of this week strike action would not be broadened. However, at the same meeting there were signals from some of the factory locals that hunger strikes were being considered in several textile plants unable to meet their pay bills.

In Rzeszow, south-eastern Poland, the number of strikers in the WSK-PZL [Transportation Equipment Plant-Polish Aviation Plant] aircraft works increased from 800 to 1,000 Thursday. The sit-in is now in its fourth day. The demands include payment of overdue wages by the management, and final decisions on government orders for the products of the works as well as on the role of aircraft industry in the future. One bright spot in this otherwise depressing picture is the agreement reached Wednesday ending the five months old strike in the tractor plant in Gorzow Wielkopolski, western Poland. The strike, organized by all three trade union locals in the factory, concerned unpaid wages and severance pay. The enterprise is to be liquidated.

The protest action by health workers in Warsaw who have been picketing and occupying a government clinic was a subject of debate Thursday by the Solidarity national committee meeting in Gdansk. The committee appealed for ending the sit-in and, having acquainted itself with other protest actions staged by health workers in various places throughout Poland, said it would seek negotiations with the Health Ministry on the situation in health service.

Military Cooperation Accord Signed With USSR

AU1912191691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1840 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 19/12/1991—An agreement on bilateral cooperation in the military field was signed in Moscow at the end of the talks between Romania's Defence Minister Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu, now on a visit to Moscow, and the minister of defence of the USSR, Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov.

Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu highlighted on the occasion that the agreement was a definitional document allowing for the development of the specific cooperation between the two ministries.

Government Welcomes EC Decision on Talks

AU1712191891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1808 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/12/1991—Romania's Government welcomes the decision of the EEC Council of Ministers concerning the immediate beginning of the exploratory discussions for the negotiation and conclusion of an accord of Romania's association to the European Community, reads the press communique received by the ROMPRES news agency from the government's spokeswoman.

The Romanian Government appreciates even more this decision because it comes in the context of the understandings covenanted in Maastricht which allow—in perspective—the adherence of other European countries to the European Community, the association with the EEC being an essential stage of that process.

Appreciating that the decision of the EEC Council represents at the same time a substantial support granted to the irreversible process of democratising the Romanian society and to the transition to the market economy, the statement further shows, the Romanian Government considers that the association with the European communities will represent a new important moment in Romania's path towards European institutions.

Union Council Favors Close Moldovan Contacts

AU1912184091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1639 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 19/12/1991—"The National Union Council was recently created in Iasi after long meditation on the part of the Romanians on the right-and left-hand banks of the Prut," Mihai Mancas, member of the Council and deputy for the National Salvation Front of the County of Neamt, told ROMPRES. "It serves the interests of no party and it is not Mircea Druc's weapon against Snegur or the other way round nor is it aimed at interfering in the political affairs of the Republic of Moldova," he added.

According to Mr. Mancas, the programme of action of the Council provides inter alia for intensified contacts between the Romanians on either side of the Prut and for the liquidation of erroneous outlooks on the history of the Romanian nation. "We try to stimulate the governments as concerns the unification of education on a legislative plane, to send teachers, especially teachers of Romania, to the Republic of Moldova, and to enroll more and more pupils and students into our learning network. At the same time, we want to create the 100 joint enterprises already envisaged in a government accord, to make passports unnecessary when crossing the Prut and to work so that the Moldovans may decide by themselves to introduce the leu as their currency not for political but for economic reasons."

Mr. Mancas also said that the development of relations with neighbouring peoples, with the Ukraine in the first place, was another target promoted by the Council because "Ukrainians live in Romania and Romanians live in the Ukraine and the Romanian territories that are a part of Ukraine represent negotiable problems on a state line, having nothing to do with the recently created body. "Naturally we wish we would see our national dream come true in the not too distant future but not by force but by the will of the two governments."

Another aspect is the creation of European balance, to meet the natural requirements of the Romanians everywhere. "We intend to do everything possible for the union, which is to be achieved when time comes, to find all Romanians ready in all respects," Mr. Mancas said and added that the Romanian Government was expected to support Moldova's interests in all international forums and as Moldova was integrated within them the cooperation between the two diplomacies could become perfect, as they represent one and the same kin.

According to Mr. Mancas, the National Union Council was interested in the situation of the Romanians everywhere and not only in the question of Bessarabia and Bukovina, as there are roughly seven million Romanians outside Romania's borders. The National Union Council, which, according to its founders, represents the unity of thinking of the Romanians in all the parts of the world, will hold its first national conference next spring.

Spokeswoman on EC, Military Pay, Economic Issues

AU1912190291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1718 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 19/12/1991—During her news conference of December 19, the government spokeswoman Iolanda Staniloiu informed about Romania's efforts to get the status of associate member of European Communities showing that the EEC Council of Ministers had recently decided to break the deadlock created in the wake of the September events caused by the miners' coming to Bucharest. A community delegation is to come to Bucharest for negotiations. The government also decided to set up an inter-ministerial

committee for Romania's relations with the EEC, led by the Minister of Trade and Tourism Constantin Fota, which is to coordinate all the activities related to the association process, identify all the issues to be approached during negotiations, prepare the documentation upholding Romania's point of view and appoint the negotiators. Constantin Fota suggested that the same committee also dwell on Romania's affiliation to EFTA.

Likewise, Mrs. Staniloiu referred to the money regulations for reserve military. The government decided that throughout the concentration period reservists get a pay equivalent to that of military employed on a contract basis as well as other money rights stipulated for conscripts by legal provisions.

The spokeswoman also referred to the package of measures to stimulate private initiative and develop small and medium-sized enterprises which stipulate inter alia the adoption of the strategy for the development of these enterprises as a government programme, the setting up of an anti-monopoly national body to see to it that free and fair competition criteria are observed, the expansion of facilities granted by the government for the social protection of employees in state-owned and private enterprises. In view are also the giving of priority to private economic agents in buying hard currency to import scarce products, and their tax-exemption, the setting up of financial institutions guaranteeing credits for private entrepreneurs and covering part of the interest.

FSN Group Seeks 'Viable' Solutions to Conflict

AU1712133391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1231 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 17/12/1991—A group of prominent members of the National Salvation Front [FSN] have launched a call to all the FSN members and supporters, to all zonal coordinating councils, parliamentary groups, the FSN's Steering Committee and its Executive Bureau to prove wisdom and responsibility in examining, in good faith, the exceptional state of their party, in coming forth with viable political solutions apt to shape the Front's identity, beyond the false conflicts it has been dragged into.

The members of the group are of the opinion that "the divergencies existing now between political personalities must not become the party's major concern." Consequently, the initiative group is requesting the FSN's Steering Committee to summon, as early as January, 1992, an extraordinary national convention to decide upon the developments in the Front and on its future political programme.

The declaration is signed, among others, by Marian Enache, Petre Solcan and Nicolae Ninosu, all members of Parliament, and leaves the list open.

Cluj County Branch Favors 'Left-of-Center' FSN

AU1712133191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1224 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 17/12/1991—Analyzing the concrete political situation the National Salvation Front [FSN] finds itself in full campaign for local elections, the Cluj County Coordination Council of the FSN pronounces itself for the maintenance of the FSN's position in the national political spectrum as a social-democratic left-of-centre political party, as set in its initial platform, writes a press communique forwarded to ROMPRES news agency for release.

The communique shows that the leadership of the FSN Cluj subsidiary disapproves of any attempt by persons or groups, no matter what position they hold in the Front's top ranks, to lend the FSN a different political configuration, to deviate it from its course.

The Coordinating Council of the FSN Cluj Branch shares the viewpoint according to which a special national convention should be called, to set up a viable organisation structure apt to involve the FSN in the local and general elections in tune with its political platform.

'Rigidity,' 'Nihilism' of Opposition Discussed

AU1612211991 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 13 Dec 91 p 3

[Radu N. Alexandru article: "Constitution and Opposition"]

[Excerpts] When we were talking about the nihilism of the challenging opposition, we did not believe or hope that things would go that far, that the parties in question would raise such opposition within the Constituent Assembly, and we would not have believed that the declared fury with which the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd], and the National Liberal Party [PNL] as political formations voted "against" the Constitution was possible after more than a year of debates on the Constitution. [passage omitted]

The country's new fundamental law needed only 340 votes, that is the absolute majority, to be adopted; as you well know, this limit was exceeded: 414 parliamentarians voted for the adoption of the Constitution and 95 voted "against" it. However, apart from these figures and the normalcy of the balance of political forces in Parliament, there are some elements of undemocratic political strategy that cannot be ignored.

Once again the two political formations—the PNT-cd and UDMR—which did not negate their rigidity and nihilism, came to the fore. In the spirit of an adamant party discipline, they opposed en bloc the adoption of Romania's fundamental law. True, in the case of the PNT-cd, Deputy Vasile Geonea, member of the editing commission of the draft constitution, made an exception; in this position, and not as representative of his

party, he could not oppose his own draft constitution. [passage omitted] As for the UDMR, there is also an exception, if we may say so, namely that of Senator Karoly Kiraly who did not vote, because he was unjustifiably absent when the Constitution was adopted.

The UDMR, which is a political formation set up on the basis of ethnic criteria, proved, through its vote, that it is unable to practice a nationality policy and that it is the promoter of a sectarian and isolationist policy that raises a previous question: Does this party represent the interests of Bucharest or those of Budapest? Of course, the citizens of our country link the various instigating statements by the reformed bishop, Laszlo Tokes—especially those made of late—to the general attitude of the UDMR toward the Constitution; thus, they conclude that the UDMR policy is made by its radical wing, despite the compromise—so to say—between it and the moderate wing of that formation at its last congress. [passage omitted]

The UDMR's reason for voting against the Constitution, namely the claimed lack of rights for ethnic minorities, is null and void because the rest of ethnic parliamentary representatives, other than the Hungarian ones, assessed the entire work for drafting the Constitution as positive and consequently voted "for" it.

Probably to strengthen its historical reputation, the PNT-cd wanted to reaffirm its inveterate opposition in connection with the adoption of the country's fundamental law; it is known that, in the case of the 1923 Constitution, the PNT, without any CD at that time, opposed its adoption. Hence, the assessment that, despite the new title, the Peasant Party wants to be neither Christian nor democratic, it just wants to preserve an attitude of political nihilism.

In the opinion of these parties, the block vote against the Constitution will form the foundation for criticizing and, more serious, for not recognizing it, thus paving the way to repeating Romania's undemocratic history. [passage omitted]

The fact that then, as in fact now, the PNT constituted a political minority was not due to the PNL (in 1923) nor to the National Salvation Front (today), but was an historical truth linked to the popularity and attraction of the peasant party's policy. True, today the PNT-cd has found a compatible ally [UDMR], as the saying goes.

Senate Endorses Broadcasting Bill 19 Dec

AU1912191591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1847 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 19/12/1991—In its December 19 sitting Romania's Senate endorsed the broadcasting law.

A last amendment to the bill was formulated during the session assessed as highly important for the Romanian political life. According to the amendment no broadcasting licence is to be granted to political parties and groups as well as to central or local authorities. Likewise, Article 37 triggered divergent opinions the following wording being agreed upon: Juristic persons are obliged to broadcast with priority and free of charge any news item, communique or message of public interest received from parliament.

Consumer Price Index Rises 325.6 Percent

AU1812125591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1206 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 18/12/1991—Statistical surveys show that in one year alone, against the background of the reforms and especially of price liberalization, the aggregated index of consumer prices for the population rose 325.6 percent with goods and services as a whole, with specific indices varying between 386.7 percent with foods, 361.6 percent with non-alimentary goods and 262.6 with services.

Of the foods, major rises were recorded with staples such as potatoes—ninefold, beans—3.5 times, onions—tenfold, meat and meat byproducts—3.8 times, meat preparations—4.6 times, sweets—5.6 times. A more moderate rise has been recorded with state-subsidised products like bread—2.6 times, edible oil—2.1 times, milk—2.2 times and butter—2 times.

As to non-alimentary goods, worth mentioning is the major price rise with refrigerators—5.3 times, freezers—5.9 times, cars—5.6 times, building materials—5.3 times.

The tariffs for services rose more with hotel accommodation—6.4 times, radio and television licences—4 times, urban transport—5 times.

International

Lord Carrington on Prospects for Hague Conference

LD1912161591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1453 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG)— Lord Carrington, the chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia, said today, before going to Sarajevo, that we ought to wait and see whether the conference at The Hague makes any sense or, "as President Milosevic said, it is not very useful."

Carrington said this after talks last night with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and after holding discussions today with General Veljko Kadijevic and Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic.

Asked how he assesses the stands of his collocutors on the latest EC proposal to recognize all Yugoslav republics seeking recognition, Lord Carrington said "there have not been major changes with any of them."

"I think that their replies were quite predictable. I think that it was useful for me to come here and explain what the EC declaration means and I think that we had good discussions," Carrington said. "It is my view that we ought to take everything into consideration now and see whether the conference makes sense, or as President Milosevic thinks—as he told journalists this morning—that it is not very useful. We must wait and see, because others might want to continue with it," the chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia concluded. He did not specify whether he was talking only about the conference or also about other processes concerning Yugoslavia.

Carrington: 'No Obstacles' to Slovene Recognition

AU1812212891 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Excerpt] Lord Carrington, president of The Hague conference on Yugoslavia, received separately Slovene Presidency President Milan Kucan and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in Graz today. Our correspondent Lojze Kos reports on the talks:

[Kos] Lord Carrington expressed his satisfaction with the proceedings and contents of the talks with the presidents of Croatia and Slovenia. The EC ministers' conference in Brussels gave a completely different point of departure and weight to Carrington's peace tour, and has also put Croatia and Slovenia in a far more advantageous position.

After one hour of talks, Franjo Tudjman said Croatia met all of the EC criteria for recognition and that he tried to convince Lord Carrington of this. The European foundations were laid for the solution of the military crisis in Croatia, at least in theory. The only problem that remains is how to apply and realize the Brussels conclusions in practical life, Tudjman said.

Immediately after Tudjman, Lord Carrington met with Milan Kucan. Slovenia also meets all the criteria for international recognition and in advocating this Milan Kucan had firmer and more convincing arguments than the Croatian president.

Lord Carrington is an optimist about Slovenia's recognition and sees no obstacles. He stated this to numerous journalists immediately after the talks. Milan Kucan is also satisfied with the results of today's talks. He again explained to the president of the Hague conference the already well-known Slovene stance. Any controversial questions should be resolved by expert groups made up of the representatives of the sides in question.

Therefore, 15 January remains the key date for the recognition of all republics that seek recognition and meet the conditions of the EC twelve. The question of legal succession of a disintegrating state is, of course, emerging together with recognition. This was also discussed today and will be the main topic of the Hague conference. It will also present a relatively difficult task for the expert group that will be formed for this purpose. [passage omitted]

Bulatovic Criticizes EC Position on Recognition

LD1912180591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1409 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—Momir Bulatovic, president of the Presidency of Montenegro, told Lord Carrington today that the latest offer of the European Community—compared to the previous ones and the latest documents of the conference on Yugoslavia—"is, after all, a significant step backwards."

After the talks with Lord Carrington, chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia, Bulatovic said that he was not able to inform him about any definite positions of Montenegro on the EC proposal to recognize, under certain conditions, those Yugoslav republics which want this recognition.

He indicated that the Montenegrin Assembly would discuss this on 23 December and, on the basis of "detailed exchange of opinions and confrontation of arguments, will make the right decision." However, he remarked that "in his present opinion, the EC proposal is suffering from great weaknesses and is open to significant criticism."

"We are very interested in the continuation of political dialogue and the search for an integral political solution, and we also raised the question which has in fact remained without a sufficiently clear answer. The question is: how to explain now this change, which indicates that political recognition and international and legal recognition of certain republics does not have to wait for the end of the conference, but is occurring in circumstances which give rise to significant obscurities and doubts," the president of the Montenegrin Presidency said.

Bulatovic noted that with its decision, the European Community—was entering the Yugoslav crisis without enough attention and that, because of Yugoslavia's inner contradicitons, it was thereby encouraging clashes and misunderstandings.

"I think that the problem cannot be resolved in the way in which the European Community has been trying so far, and I believe that The Hague conference ought to give this issue very, very serious consideration," Bulatovic stressed.

He said that Montenegro fully supports the peacemaking role of the UN Security Council, but he believes "that other forms of political action ought to be used, especially those in which the possibility of our influence will be considerably greater."

"Regardless of all the doubts surrounding The Hague conference, and its objective weaknesses and drawbacks, I personally prefer the method and form of work in which the opinion of the republic which I represent can also be heard. And the role in which we are waiting for somebody else to make a decision on our behalf and on our account is more passive," Bulatovic concluded.

Gligorov Satisfied With Carrington Talks

LD1912215791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2038 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Skopje, Dec 19 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia Kiro Gligorov said this evening he was very satisfied with today's talks with Chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia Lord Carrington.

According to Gligorov, Lord Carrington's mission to Macedonia was easy "because no war is raging in this republic, because there are no unsurmountable political problems in it and because it has control over its entire territory."

We also discussed "the Greek clause on names" and the European Community Declaration on recognizing the states of eastern Europe, which can be associated with territorial pretensions, he said.

We told Lord Carrington that this problem was the easiest to solve, stressed Gligorov but added that nobody had the right to demand from somebody else to renounce his name.

The Macedonian president went on to say that Macedonia had so far furnished enough proof that it had no territorial pretensions, and that it would continue to do so if necessary.

Macedonia does not want to interefere into internal affairs of others and threaten anybody's sovereignty, but it demands the same from others, he said.

Gligorov also informed Lord Carrington about a declaration on international recognition of Macedonia which the republican parliament adopted this evening.

Jovic Describes Talks With UN Team as 'Useful'

LD1912192491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1717 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, December 19 (TANJUG)—Initial talks were held in Belgrade on Thursday [19 December] between members of the Yugoslav State Commission for Cooperation with Representatives of the United Nations and members of this U.N. observer team to assess possible sending of U.N. troops to war-affected areas in Croatia.

Head of the Yugoslav State Commission, member of the Yugoslav State Presidency Borisav Jovic, stated after the talks with the U.N. team that they were useful.

Jovic stressed that the goal of the U.N. mission was to prepare conditions so U.N. peace troops could be sent as soon as possible.

We will endeavor, Jovic said, to establish contact with the Croatian authorities, so that the mission could maintain unimpeded communication with both sides.

Head of the U.N. team Herbert Okun, U.S. diplomat and assistant to U.N. special envoy Cyrus Vance, stated that the meeting with the members of the Yugoslav State Commission was beneficial, although basically technical in nature, because this was the mission's chief feature.

Okun added that it would be the mission's job to send its members to the regions which in the event of starting a peace operation could be placed under U.N. protection. He specified that these were "western and eastern Slavonia, northern and southern Krajina."

He said that several of the obervers would go also to the northwestern parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The preparatory mission numbers twenty civilan and military experts. Prior to its arrival to Belgrade on Wednesday [18 December], the Yugoslav Presidency formed a state commission to cooperate with the U.N. representantives.

Tudjman Thanks Kohl for German Recognition

LD2012133391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] In connection with the decision last night by the German Government to recognize the Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, president of the republic, today sent thanks to Helmut Kohl, chancellor of the Republic of Germany, which says:

Allow me to express thanks to your government and to you personally, in the name of all the citizens of Croatia, and in my own name personally, for your government's decision to recognize the Republic of Croatia. We are

convinced that this decision will contribute to the imminent ending of the war in Croatia, while the pressure of the international community on all the republics of the former Yugoslavia to accept the criteria set out in the declaration of the EC Council of Ministers of 16 December this year will contribute to resolving the crisis and bringing about stability on a lasting basis in this part of Europe.

The decision that you have made makes it even more binding on us to persist on our path of strengthening democracy, the market economy, and good-neighborly relations, and will also provide the basis for more stable and comprehensive Croatian-German relations. Please accept, Herr Chancellor, my kindest regards, it is stressed in the [letter of] thanks from President Tudjman to Chancellor Kohl.

Kucan on FRG Recognition of 'Different Reality'

AU1812213191 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Before his departure to Graz, Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene Presidency, met with the journalists of the German and Austrian media and the British news agency REUTER in Ljubljana. Among other things, he said that due to its links with Yugoslavia Germany realized before other countries what was the actual state of affairs in the country. Therefore, we cannot talk about Germany's recognition of the states but about recognition of a different reality, Milan Kucan emphasized.

Speaking about his meeting with Lord Carrington, president of the Conference on Yugoslavia, Kucan said they will probably discuss the continuation of the Hague conference, and perhaps a new union of the Yugoslav republics. Slovenia will not join this union.

Commenting on Serbian reactions to the Brussels decision about recognition of the Yugoslav republics, he said the Serbian reaction was as expected but that Belgrade is not convincing in its insisting that Yugoslavia exists. The EC and the Arbitration Commission both stressed that only republics are the legitimate bearers of rights. Therefore, Serbia will no longer be able to hide behind Yugoslavia.

President Kucan also spoke about the situation in Slovenia and, among other things, said that the fall of the government and disintegration of Demos are not related to international recognition. If the government happened to fall this would be a result of the intolerable economic and social situation, which is a result of the one year struggle for international recognition, Milan Kucan said. He stressed that recognition itself will not solve our economic and social problems. Recognition will only enable us to start efficiently restructuring our economy as an independent state.

Measures Created To Counter German Transport Ban

LD1912140891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1155 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, December 19 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Government has decided to introduce counter-measures, beginning Friday [20 December] at midnight, to the German Government decision to suspend transportation with Yugoslavia.

According to Acting Federal Transport and Communications Secretary Stevan Santo, the Yugoslav Government measures would, nevertheless, not be fully reciprocal.

As of December 21, entry to trucks with German plates and German-registered river vessels, will be denied entry, and the regular flights cancelled.

However, German buses and airliners on charter trips will be allowed to transport passengers to Yugoslavia through January 20 next year. After that date, unless the German Government changed or mitigated its stand, a new federal government decision would be adopted to ban also those forms of transportation.

Sweden Decides To Recognize Croatia, Slovenia

LD1912153191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] We have learned from the Foreign Affairs Ministry that Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt announced just after 1200 that Sweden has decided to recognize Croatia and Slovenia today, effective 15 January. The decision was made at a session of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Swedish Government, attended by the prime minister, the foreign affairs minister, the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Commission chairman, and all party chairmen. The king of Sweden presided over the session.

The same session recognized Russia, Belarus, and the Ukraine as sovereign states. The prime minister announced this on television and stressed that all these countries, Croatia included, follow the European political tradition, have democratic systems, and respect human and minority rights.

Asked why the Swedish Government was rushing into this decision, he said that this is in line with the EC decision and that there are no reasons for any further delay.

Greguric States 'Dismay' With Italy's Stance

PM2012110291 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 18 Dec 91 p 16

[Interview with Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Greguric by Leonardo Coen; place and date not given]

[Text] Zagreb—The conclusions of the European summit in Brussels? "A victory for us: At least Europe is admitting that Yugoslavia no longer exists," Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Greguric said. It does not matter if there is another month's wait: It may seem like a bitter pill, but it must be swallowed in order to ensure recovery. "Now it is simply a matter of timing," people in Zagreb are saying. This is the bitter part, Greguric explained: "Every day that passes, pending recognition, means so many more deaths and so much more destruction for us. Every day, at least 10 deaths, at least 100-120 wounded. That means that the war is continuing. We have it here on our territory. The destroyed cities are Croatian. What do they want, those people—such as UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar—who say that recognition could exacerbate the situation? Do they want another 50,000 people to die before they are satisfied? For us it is intolerable for the assailants to be lumped together with the attacked. If certain statements expressed an objective will, then they should have prompted the immediate sending of peacekeeping troops. Instead...."

Instead they will have to wait. But this time Germany's decision to carry out Croatia's recognition in two stages—an immediate announcement, followed by official implementation on 15 January—so that the EC can follow, once the work of the arbitration committee (the same one as at The Hague peace conference) is finished, is the result of an acceptable compromise, people in the Croatian capital are saying, with moderate satisfaction.

The reason why was explained by 52-year-old prime Minister Greguric himself in the large, sober room number 205 on the second floor of Sabor, the building that houses the parliament and government, in the heart of the upper town, the very center of the city targeted by Belgrade's Migs two months ago. On one wall there is a large map of the SFRY of the kind used in schools. Yellow lines have been drawn on it to outline the territories occupied by the federal army and the cetniks—one-third of the territory, 600,000 refugees, 120,000 homes destroyed, 40 percent of factories burned down.

[Coen] This is the map of a war that could end: When?

[Greguric] Soon, I hope. We will obtain two essentials through this recognition: First, Croatia will become an autonomous, legal entity enjoying international recognition; but although this is unquestionably valuable, it is not enough to resolve our problems. I consider the second aim more important: Croatia's recognition entails a de facto recognition of Yugoslavia's dissolution. This, because Yugoslavia's existence as a legal entity causes us many problems: Yugoslavia is actually the only legal body that justifies the army's activities.

[Coen] You once said that Europe's contribution to democracy in Croatia was confined to statements, and that at the practical level there had ben no concrete initiatives to help you to achieve sovereignty. A great deal has changed recently, however. Indeed, the German Government's action has been decisive. What is the price of this alliance?

[Greguric] Look, a year and a half ago I would never have imagined that I—a manager, general manager of the Astra holding company—would have become my country's prime minister. Many things have changed, and are still changing: In this regard recognition by Germany and our neighbors is essential, and it is very important that our friend, Italy, be involved, too: It is not just a matter of historical and cultural ties; for us, it is a special partner, economically. Above all, our longest border is with Italy—that along the Adriatic Sea. If anyone suggests that we are becoming a German satellite, they are very much mistaken. This is an unrealistic assessment. I could say, in jest, that it is better to be occupied by the Germans or Americans than by the Serbs...but the fact is that all the countries that help us at this tragic time for us will have a preferential position within the framework of our foreign relations.

[Coen] Germany, Italy: Does the fact that these countries have supported Croatia more than any other not evoke memories of an old and unforgotten problem? The specters of an embarrassing past are reemerging, and it is no coincidence that Belgrade and the Serbs accuse the Croats of being fascists and of returning to a situation more or less identical to that of World War II.

[Greguric] Can I ask you a question in return? Is this orthodox group that comprises—apart from Serbia—Montenegro, Greece, and Romania not equally suspect? They have all set themselves up as a natural barrier against this other part, and the Americans are well aware of it. I will ask you another question: What do you have to say about the Byzantine instinct for destroying monuments, the cultural heritage of such cities as Dubrovnik, Sibenik, or Zadar? Is this itself not sufficient reason for raising a Western barrier and defending ourselves against the barbaric acts being perpetrated against history, art, and people? We, the Italians, and Germans have been accused of fascism. But Italian, German, and Croatian troops have never done what the Serbian and Montenegrin troops are doing now. It would be a mistake to identify an entire people with those troops, but the occupying army's command is Serbian and Montenegrin.

[Coen] According to Belgrade, this is a European aggression on Yugoslavia; it is issuing new threats. Are you not worried? Is this perhaps an excuse for continuing the war?

[Greguric] Serbia always issues threats. The latest reaction really is deplorable, because the Serbs want to use Yugoslavia as a screen to conceal the army while it attacks Croatia. We did not want this war. We have to fight it to defend our homeland. This is why I think that we must be recognized right away, so as to dismember

Yugoslavia de jure and to be able to establish new relations between the states on the territory of the former federation.

[Coen] How do you judge Rome's vacillation?

[Greguric] I must say that on several occasions in the past we have been dismayed by the official Italian position, because [Foreign Minister] De Michelis, surprisingly, would change his mind even within a matter of days, whereas other Italian politicians have proved more consistent.

[Coen] If the war were to continue, what weapons would you use to fight the Yugoslav Army? Some say that Germany's recognition is the prelude to the opening of a kind of corridor from Germany and Austria to Zagreb to deliver any weapons.

[Greguric] We have never requested weapons from Germany, Austria, or Italy. We obtained the weapons that we are fighting with from the federal army and on the black market, and we also manufacture them ourselves. We do not want to cause problems for our neighbors.

[Coen] How will your regional policy develop after recognition?

[Greguric] As you know, in March we proposed a new kind of confederation. Belgrade did not accept it. We now think that this plan can no longer be achieved, especially not with Serbia and Montenegro. There should be no problems in achieving EEC-style economic integration with the other republics: I am talking about Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia, and Macedonia. We Croats have already drawn up a plan for close economic cooperation. You will also appreciate that at the moment the same is not possible with Serbia. We need time to heal the wounds of this war, these massacres, and this destruction. Look, I am struggling for respect for a law-based state. One that grants equality to all citizens of all religions, nationalities, and minorities. Every citizen must observe the law. I am well-known for my commitment to this. I have resisted the pressures of the Croatian and Serbian nationalists. And I have always struggled for respect for the law-based state on every occasion.

Iceland Sends Letter of Recognition to Slovenia

AU2012134791 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0600 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] I have the honor of informing you that the government of the Republic of Iceland has recognized the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia. I also have the honor of proposing to you the establishment of diplomatic relations between our countries as soon as possible.

I assure you that the government of the Republic of Iceland will advocate friendly relations between our countries on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty, equality, cooperation, and noninterference in internal affairs.

This is the statement of the foreign (?minister) of Iceland signed by Foreign Minister Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson.

What is involved is the first recognition of our young state by a western state. In his statement last night for our radio station, Slovene Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel said among other things that what is involved is an important day of the young Slovene state. He said that a precedent has now been set and Slovenia will slowly be given the opportunity to join international political life on an equal footing.

Federal

Presidency Speaks Out Against EC 'Interference'

LD1912173191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1417 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency today sent a letter to the UN Security Council stating that the recent decisions of the EC Council of Ministers represent interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs. By stimulating the one-sided and illegal secession, disintegration, and liquidation of Yugoslavia as a sovereign subject of international law, the letter which was also sent to TANJUG states, no contribution is made to the peaceful and democratic resolution of the Yugoslav crisis.

Such behavior by a regional community, under pressure from the narrow interests of one or two of its members, threatens to cause a drastic deterioration in the country's overall situation and spread the armed conflicts to other parts of Yugoslavia as well, something which could also endanger security in the region at large. If the EC decisions remain in force, the letter says, this would also represent the negation of the bases on which the Conference on Yugoslavia was convened, and prejudging its outcome in such a way seriously raises the question of its further purpose.

The integral text of the SFRY Presidency's letter to the UN Security Council was signed by Vice President Branko Kostic and addressed to Security Council Chairman Yuliy Mikhailovich Vorontsov, and reads:

"Mr. President,

"In connection with the EC decision of 17 December 1991, we have decided to turn to you with the following request for support and protection by the UN. You are certainly acquainted with our views on the basic causes of the constitution-political crisis in Yugoslavia, as well as what is being done to create the conditions for the immediate cessation of hostilities and the establishment of a stable peace and security, as vital prerequisites for the achievement of all-encompassing solutions to the Yugoslav crisis by democratic political means, in other words by dialogue. In an abridged form we also set out these views for you in the letter in which we asked you to dispatch UN peacekeeping forces, when we also announced the basic aims and extraordinary role which

UN peacekeeping forces, we believe, could play in overcoming the Yugoslav crisis. We received with satisfaction and great hopes the expressed readiness of the Security Council to engage UN peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia.

"It was with great attention and interest that we monitored the constructive involvement of the Security Council, and especially of the UN secretary general and his special envoy Mr. Cyrus Vance, in the creation of the political prerequisites and all other vital conditions and preconditions so that the UN peacekeeping forces might be engaged as soon as possible in the Republic of Croatia, and create the opportunity of finding all-encompassing solutions to the Yugoslav crisis in conditions of peace and security.

"We believe that you agree with us in our belief that the engagement of UN peacekeeping forces is the most effective way and the greatest guarantee of establishing peace and security for all citizens, and in this way preventing even more tragic and broader conflicts in Yugoslavia and the endangering of peace in the whole region and also in Europe, and in this way of creating the conditions for the Yugoslav constitutional and political crisis to be overcome in a democratic and all-encompassing way.

"We also expected that the EC involvement and the successful course and completion of The Hague Conference on Yugoslavia would make a significant contribution to the denouement of the Yugoslav crisis. However, the involvement so far of this regional organization, which promised its good services to Yugoslavia in resolving its crisis, has increasingly changed with time and its help has grown into direct interference in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, support for the secessionist republics, and the call for the complete destruction and negation of the integrity and international legal status of Yugoslavia as a subject.

"The EC did this despite the stands and warnings of the Security Council and the UN secretary general, set out in Resolutions 713, 721, and 724, as well as in the secretary general's letter to the EC Council of Ministers. On this occasion the request was expressly made of all states, which implies also EC member states, that they refrain from all activities which could contribute to the increasing of tension and the prevention or postponement of a peaceful solution to the conflicts in Yugoslavia by means of negotiation. In our view, the latest EC stands represent a crude violation of the Security Council resolutions which were otherwise also voted for by some leading EC members.

"The decisions of the EC Council of Ministers of 17 December 1991 are also a flagrant violation of the UN Charter, the final document of the CSCE in Helsinki, the Paris Charter, as well as other relevant acts of international law, because by interfering in the internal affairs of a sovereign state and by stimulating the one-sided and illegal secession, disintegration and liquidation of Yugoslavia as a sovereign subject of international law no contribution is made to the peaceful and democratic resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. Such behavior by a regional community, under the pressure of the narrow interests of one or two of its members, is threatening to cause a drastic deterioration in the country's overall situation and spread armed conflicts to other parts of Yugoslavia as well, which could also endanger security in the region at large.

"If the EC decisions remain in force this would also represent the negation of the bases on which the Conference on Yugoslavia was convened, and prejudging its outcome in this way seriously raises the question of its further purpose. Considering the important role and the authority of the world organization for preservation of peace and international security, we are addressing the Security Council to consider urgently the situation created by the adoption of the EC declaration on the recognition of the Yugoslav republics as sovereign states, to assess the detrimental consequences which might result from it and, in accordance with the UN charter, take adequate actions, especially with the view to the immediate and successive sending of the peacekeeping forces to the crisis regions where the cease-fire has already been realized. In the newly arisen situation, we are asking you to urgently consider the most adequate and efficient way to protect the international legal subjectivity and the sovereign rights of the state of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a founder and member of the United Nations.

"With the expression of our readinesss to full cooperation in making our contribution, please accept our sincere respect," the SFRY Presidency's letter to the UN Security Council says in conclusion.

Parties Assess Impact of Recognition Decision

LD1912041691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2228 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, December 18 (TANJUG)—A large number of parties and associations in Yugoslavia today warned, on the occasion of the Brussels declaration by the European Community (E.C.), that the E.C. became the instigator of a new world war when it adopted this document on Tuesday [17 December] morning.

The independent group of deputies in Bosnia-Hercegovina parliament assessed that the breaking up of Yugoslavia would come back to Europe like a boomerang.

The branch of the Party of Yugoslavs for Bosnia-Hercegovina today expressed apprehension that the latest E.C. decisions bring extreme uncertainty to the future life of the nations and citizens of this ethnically mixed Yugoslav republic.

For the Party of Democratic Action which rallies Moslems in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Brussels declaration is an

acceptable basis for resolving the Yugoslav crisis because it enables an equal status to all Yugoslav republics.

Sulejman Ugljanin, the leader of this party for the region of Sandzak, today announced that the Moslem national council of Sandzak would soon ask the E.C. ministerial council for special autonomous status for Sandzak.

Sandzak is a region which covers parts of the territories of three Yugoslav republics—Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro.

The New Communist Movement for Yugoslavia, based in Belgrade, today warned that the attempt to leave 750,000 Serbs to the mercy of the "fascist authorities in Croatia can cause unprecedented bloodshed in the Balkans and jeopardize peace in the world."

Yugoslav Presidency member Jugoslav Kostic tonight assessed that the E.C. was only stoking the Yugoslav crisis with its latest decision. Kostic accused the twelve of having shown extreme bias and lack of objectivity. He announced that, because of that, the Yugoslav crisis would be resolved at the United Nations (U.N.).

Milan Babic, prime minister of the Serb autonomous region of Krajina, told a press conference that it is dangerous if the E.C. recognizes Slovenia and Croatia without at the same time recognizing this region. The recognition of Krajina would prevent the escalation of the war, Babic underscored.

Markovic Resigns 'For Reasons of Principle'

LD2012031991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2254 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, December 19 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA quotes sources close to the federal government as saying that Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic on Thursday [19 December] tendered his resignation.

Markovic "verbally tendered his resignation for reasons of principle," says BORBA in its Friday [20 December] issue.

The paper writes that the move followed disagreements over a draft budget for 1992, which Markovic described as a "war budget." The government has been dealing with the question over the past three days.

The paper quotes sources in the government as saying that the federal parliament will receive a draft budget earmarking 86 percent of the funds for financing the Yugoslav Army.

No other member of the government backed Markovic in his insisting, says the paper.

As learned by TANJUG on Thursday, the Yugoslav Government will submit to parliament a draft federal budget only for a three month period, instead of for the whole year.

Explains Resignation

AU2012153591 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] At the news conference for Yugoslav and foreign journalists that has just finished, Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, said that he is tendering his resignation. He said that the political crisis and war eliminated the results of the reform, the process of democratization, the support of the world, the EC, the United Nations, and the United States, as well as 14 cease-fire agreements and the results of The Hague Conference.

War is intensifying in Croatia and threatening to break out in Bosnia-Hercegovina. With hyperinflation, millions of unemployed, a drop in production, and poverty that will lead to social explosion of unimaginable proportions, as Markovic said, economic catastrophe is coming closer. Markovic then added the following:

[Begin Markovic recording] The Federal Executive Council has been completely obstructed in the process of halting the economic and social crisis, as well as the war devastation. It has no powers or possibilities to act, let alone carry out any kind of policy.

The budget for next year that is demanded from the Federal Executive Council is supposed to represent financial and political support for the continuation of the war, because about 81 percent of the proposed budget is earmarked for financing the Yugoslav Army, and this is completely beyond the control of the Federal Executive Council. Resources for this purpose are ensured exclusively from the [primary] emission, that is, by printing money, which represents a huge contribution to the increase of hyperinflation. This means not only the continuation of the war, death, and devastation, but also losing any economic and social prospects, against which I incessantly fought throughout my term of office.

Because of all this, I see no other possibility but to return the mandate entrusted to me. I will return it to the president of the SFRY Assembly.

I have always consistently supported democracy and peace, and opposed war. Therefore, I deem it unacceptable to propose a war budget. I cannot and do not want to do so.

As the SFRY Assembly no longer functions as a parliament that can represent all parts of Yugoslavia, and as the truncated SFRY Presidency is not qualified to adopt valid conclusions, there is no body to which I could legally give my mandate back. In this respect, I would consider it honorable and am ready to engage myself in any activity that legitimate representatives in the country or international players would demand of me with a view to preventing war and (?interethnic) killing, mutual killing, as well as to seeking a peaceful and democratic solution to our crisis. [end recording]

Announces Decision to Media

LD2012143191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1407 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 20 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic has resigned. Markovic told newsmen today that he disagreed with his ministers around the 1992 budget. He stressed he disagreed with a war budget to be adopted. Markovic was elected to federal prime ministership on March 16, 1989. He is second post-war prime minister who resigned. The first was Branko Mikulic who preceded Markovic in this office.

Presidency on Serbs in Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD1912223291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2133 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, December 17 (TANJUG)—Serbs in the Yugoslav Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina have the right to self-determination and secession because they are a constituant people in Yugoslavia and the two republics, the Yugoslav Presidency has said.

The Presidency presented its stand on the matter at the request of the Arbitration Commission of The Hague Conference on Yugoslavia.

In a lengthy reply, the Presidency said that Yugoslavia's earlier and current constitutions as well as those of all its federal units, except the new constitution of the Republic of Croatia, include the right of all Yugoslav peoples to self-determination and secession.

The Yugoslav Presidency added that, besides the international legal and constitutional legal reasons, one should also bear in mind the "will of the Serbian people in the Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina and point out possible political effects of disrespecting them, especially in view of peace and security in the country."

Two territorially divided Serbs-populated regions on Thursday [19 December] proclaimed a republic.

The Yugoslav Presidency voiced an opinion that it should be made possible for all constituent peoples in the republics to declare themselves on the change of state and political status before their republics are granted international recognition.

The Presidency recalled that Serbs in Croatia had organized two referendums in which they voted overwhelmingly for remaining a part of Yugoslavia in case of Croatia's secession.

Assembly Commission Names Appointments, Dismissals

LD2012102891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1337 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Assembly's Commission for Elections and Appointments concluded today that it is proposing to the (Yugoslav Assembly) Chambers that they relieve of their duties some hitherto members of their common working bodies from the ranks of specialist, scientific and public workers, and elect new members.

It has been proposed that the members of the Constitutional Commission, Dr. Radoljub Micic and Dr. Branko Kostic, should be replaced by Dr. Budimir Kosutic and Dr Radoje Kontic. Likewise, the proposal has been made to elect Dr. Tomislav Bandin in place of the member of the Commission for Agriculture, Dr. Branko Lazic.

Members of the commission also propose that at their personal request the Constitutional Court judges Stefan Horvat and Mirko Rogosic, as well as the deputy governor of the Yugoslav National Bank, Mitja Gaspari, be relieved of their duties. The commission otherwise today relieved of his post Zarko Trbojevic, vice governor of the Yugoslav National Bank, who has been appointed as deputy executive director of the IMF in Washington.

At the proposal of Ljubomir Bulatovic, secretary-general of the SFRY Assembly, the commission today relieved of their duties nine leading assembly workers whose four-year mandate has expired. This is chiefly a matter of the secretaries of working bodies of the chambers, who will continue to carry out their jobs and tasks for one and a half years at the most. In this period either the question of their employment will be resolved or they will retire.

Assembly Delegates Seek Dinar's Devaluation

LD2012034991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0042 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 19 (TANJUG)—A group of delegates of the Yugoslav parliament has asked the Yugoslav Government to devalue the dinar and propose solutions for foreign exchange savings right at the moment when there are no dinars or foreign exchange for such a huge undertaking.

The Federation and the Yugoslav republics, the Belgrade daily BORBA writes today, must find a solution for the foreign exchange debt to its citizens but it is unclear how fruitful the offered support of the delelgates to the mass protests and strikes by foreign exchange savers would actually be.

Last year, according to BORBA, under measures of the monetary and foreign exchange policy, the foreign exchange belonging to small savers went into the pockets of those whom the state enabled to purchase foreign exchange cheaply.

Even at that time, BORBA underscores, it should have been clear that the debt to foreign exchange savers will not be settled regardless of the then high level of foreign reserves, since they were not intended for this purpose.

BORBA writes that for foreign exchange in cash the rate goes as high as 300 percent above the official rate of exchange. This is being used by certain republics and banks which are trying to acquire foreign exchange despite the fact that the division between "old" and "new" savers is not contained in any law.

The Yugoslav parliamentary delegates say that the simplest method would be to set a realistic rate of exchange and convert foreign exchange into dinars. The difficulty is, however, that there are not enough dinars to cover such an operation.

Reservists Continue Protests Over Deployment

LD1912042291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1124 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, December 18 (TANJUG)—Reservists and their parents and relatives protested in Belgrade and Obrenovac against call ups and being sent again to the battlefronts in the Yugoslav republic of Croatia, or demanded the return from this battlefront.

Some 150 parents and wives of reservists from Obrenovac, a town near Belgrade, demanded at a protest rally that all those mobilized return home.

The town information center stated that some 90 percent of the reservists did not want to return from the battlefront when their relatives visited them with the aim of taking them back home.

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA writes on Wednesday [18 November] that as many as 800 reservists from Obrenovac were currently at the battlefronts in Croatia and that they have been at the battlefront for 45 days already.

The Belgrade daily BORBA reports on Wednesday about a protest of 76 reservists-Belgraders, who, after, 90 days spent at the front, "returned from the front on their own on December 16."

The reservists, as the paper says, "were firmly set to effect a replacement, which, despite several promises, never arrived."

BORBA also recalls last week's protest of reservists in Kragujevac, who on their own will return from the battlefront and refuse to go back.

"Placards with full names, surnames and addresses of 6,167 men, who refused to answer the mobilization call will be put up in Kragujevac, Knic, Topola, Arandjelovac and other places in Sumadija (central Serbia)," writes BORBA.

The paper cites the statement of representative of the Kragujevac Corps, Col. Budimir rakic, who last week said that "already 600 charges have been instituted" and that "directors of the enterprises have been given specific 'instructions'" that those who refused the call for mobilization be sacked.

Reasons for JNA War, Consequences for Bosnia

92BA0151A Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 6 Nov 91 p 2

[Article by Teodor Gersak, professor of the Mechanical Engineering Faculty of the University of Ljubljana: "'Framework' for War in Bosnia"]

[Text] Teodor Gersak, professor of the Mechanical Engineering Faculty of the University of Ljubljana and until recently the only civilian analyst on the General Staff and one of the most competent collocutors on the subject of the military-political situation in Yugoslavia, explains why the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] started the war against its own country, why Serbia has behaved the way it has, and why the republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina became a hostage of these frenzied policies.

Can a war be avoided in Bosnia and Hercegovina, in the Balkans, in Europe? All of some hundred hours or so of conversation with Professor Teodor Gersak of the Mechanical Engineering Faculty in Ljubljana, recorded in his notes, which he kindly allowed us to use, brings one to the pessimistic conclusion that Bosnia-Hercegovina is militarily occupied, that on its territory is the largest concentration of military might in the history of war, which has nowhere to withdraw to, and which came into Bosnia without invitation or approval of the authorities of the state of Bosnia.

For the creators of the "Framework" plan, which is being carried out in all its details, Bosnia-Hercegovina is considered only as a military zone into which Army units from Slovenia and Croatia are being withdrawn so that western and southwestern Croatia can be attacked from Bosnian territory, and the borders of a Greater Serbia can be drawn by protecting borders of the newly formed Serbian Autonomous Oblasts [SAO's].

The conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, claims our collocutor, being territorially limited and localized, would be tolerated by Europe which is too weak to stop the war now raging in Croatia. In a limited scope, it suits both the leadership in Serbia and in Croatia, because any spreading of the war, latent on Bosnian soil, postpones their having to give an accounting to their own peoples for promises not fulfilled, for being aggressive, or for an inadequate response to aggression.

In such a political "Balkan Inn," the regular and reserve units of the Yugoslav Army and the Territorial Defense [TO] have declined obedience to the Presidency of the SFRY (which no longer exists), so the generals, in effect, carried out a military coup in February and openly sided with only one of the participants in the conflict—the present Milosevic regime in Serbia, and in the name and for the goals of this regime, they are destroying Croatia with all means available and have committed crimes in

Croatia and Hercegovina that the whole civilized world calls war crimes, all of this under the pretext that they are protecting "the threatened Serbian people." The irony of this pretext is that this war is a tribal war, because in those areas where the threatened Serbian people are allegedly being protected, not only are Croats being killed but Serbian inhabitants as well, because this war is simply a war over territory, for securing the new borders of a Greater Serbia, for oil in Kutina, and for the ports of Dubrovnik and Rijeka.

Why is Serbia behaving like this, why is the Army behaving like this, why is Europe behaving the way it is? Has the Army, while realizing the goals of a Greater Serbia, achieved a silent agreement with Italy in this raging war? Why has the Army so easily withdrawn from Slovenia, why is it invading Croatia, why is it concentrating in Bosnia-Hercegovina?

The "Framework" plan, covered by this newspaper about a month ago, is now being realized in all its details. The Army started an aggression against its own country, and Bosnia-Hercegovina became a hostage of these maddening policies thanks to its own political factionalism, in which some see Bosnia-Hercegovina as a normal, civil state, while others see it as a raw-material and energy colony of Greater Serbia, and yet others see it as a "Bantustan" region whose name may be kept only for the sake of historical records—proof that at the end of the 20th century there did exist a country called Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The question of war or peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina depends the least on Bosnia and Hercegovina.

Answers to the numerous questions, and explanations for all of what is happening, are provided by Teodor Gersak in his notes and in the conversations we had with him. His 20 years of experience and his close cooperation with the former federal Secretaries of Defense Mamula and Ljubicic, the present Secretary of Defense Kadijevic, and with Generals Mirkovic, Adjic, Simovic and Negovanovic, and everything he said earlier to our paper about the "Framework" plan, as well as the threats he has been receiving since talking to us—all go to prove that the person we talked to is a competent collocutor.

Slovenia

Rupel Seeks EC Recognition as Independent State

LD1912214991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2003 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Dec 19 (TANJUG)—Foreign Minister of the Republic of Slovenia Dimitrij Rupel has sent a letter to the president of the European Community Ministerial Council, Hans van den Broek of The Netherlands, stating that "Slovenia wishes to be recognized as an independent state".

The wish has been expressed by the citizens of Slovenia in a plebiscite, says Rupel and adds that Slovenia accepts "the principles of the declaration on the criteria for reognizing new states in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union".

As a sovereign and independent state, Slovenia is prepared to accept the mechanisms of international supervision over the exercising of human rights, as set out by the CSCE and the European Community, the letter says.

Rupel goes on to say that the Republic of Slovenia has proposed to the conference on Yugoslavia to review the issue of succession to former Yugoslavia, which is in line with the opinion voiced by the Arbitration Commission.

The Republic of Slovenia will continue to support the efforts of the U.N. secretary-general and the Security Council aimed at sending peace-keeping troops to the crisis areas of former Yugoslavia, he says.

Slovenia also urges the continuation of the Yugoslavia conference which should primarily focus on the question of succession, Rupel says in conclusion.

VECER Notes EC 'Compromise' on Recognition

LD1812140791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1250 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Maribor, Dec 18 (TANJUG)—The EC decisions concerning criteria and deadlines for the recognition of the Yugoslav republics constitute a compromise, and this will probably compel the United States to observe Germany's and EC policy, as the daily VECER, published in the Slovenian town of Maribor, says today.

Commenting the EC decision to recognize on January 15 all Yugoslav republics that want independence, VECER says Germany has achieved all its goals relating to Slovenia's and Croatia's recognition, and also preserved the EC's unity. Through the diplomatic move, Germany has pointed out its economic and financial authority in Europe as well as worldwide, the daily sets out.

The most important task for Slovenia now is to prove that it is responsible and serious state, and as such a desirable EC member, as VECER writes.

Rupel Claims No Border Disputes With Croatia

LD1912042691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1350 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By Jak Koprivc]

[Text] Ljubljana, Dec 18 (TANJUG)—The Slovenian and Croatian press has of late seriously differed over the question of the Istrian peninsula border between the two Yugoslav republics. Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel recently said he was aware of "not a single official view which would in any way place in question the present Slovenian-Croatian borders." He said he hoped the "Croatian side itself has no territorial claims towards Slovenia."

Slovenia's official reactions have followed public requests for the border in Istria to be changed. Together with Slovenes and Croats, an Italian national minority and members of other Yugoslav peoples live in Istria. After World War Two, a considerable number of Italians, who until that time accounted for two-thirds of Istria's population, left the peninsula.

The Croatian media criticized the demands for a change of the border in Istria and said the change would be to Croatia's detriment. Slovenia's leading paper DELO has expressed understanding for supporters of the stand that the territorial claims on Istria should be abandoned.

Istria is part of the three legitimate sovereign states of Slovenia, Croatia and Italy, as DELO set out. It said the current difficulties on Slovenian-Croatian border crossings resulted "exclusively" from the war in Croatia.

Croatia

HDZ on Recognition, Markovic's Responsibility

LD2012101691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1345 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Zagreb, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—Croatia is practically recognized, and official recognition is expected from Germany today. Recognition by many other countries will follow, leaders of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] stressed today at their regular press conference in Zagreb.

It was assessed that "this is a triumph of Croatian foreign policy," bearing in mind the fact that "Yugoslavia does not exist any more." Speaking about the arrival of the blue berets [UN troops], HDZ Executive Committee President Slavko Degoricija stressed that Croatia has been calling for this for a long time because they are "necessary to stop the war in Croatia and to prevent the outbreak of clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

The aim of the deployment and activities of the blue berets should also be the establishment of the legal order of the Croatian state in crisis regions as well, which is also a commitment from The Hague, Slavko Degoricija stressed.

Leaders of the ruling party in Croatia, the HDZ, assessed that the process of liberating the occupied territories in Croatia has been started, and "the importance of the operations of the Croatian Army and its successes in western Slavonia and its penetration into Baranja" were given a particular emphasis. This is "a military reversal on the eastern battlefield," a member of the HDZ Executive Committee, Marija Peakic-Mikuljan, said. She also particularly noted yesterday's speech by Ante Markovic, whom she called a "notorious traitor of the Croatian national interest." Members of the party leadership, Neven Jurica and Drago Krpina, added that Ante Markovic, despite his national background, had "aligned with Greater Serbian policy" and that "with Markovic the Yugoslav option experienced total collapse."

Largest Military Base Handed Over to Croats

LD2012145291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] At exactly 1200, the big Marshal Tito military base in Zagreb was handed over. About 100 protesting citizens saw off 10 vehicles from this military base. Most of them were towed away the military base was then officially handed over to the Croatian Army.

The main orchestra of the Croatian Army played Our Beautiful Land [Croatian national anthem] and then the Croatian flag was raised.

Government To Introduce Temporary Currency

LD2012084891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] At a closed session held last night, the government of the Republic of Croatia, chaired by Dr Franjo Greguric, discussed a large number of decisions from the monetary field that should be realized before the end of this year.

Among other things, the government adopted a decision on the introduction of a temporary currency, the Croatian dinar. The public, who is awaiting the introduction of Croatian currency with justified interest, will be promptly informed about all the details connected with this important financial operation, a statement from the Ministry of Information says.

Republic of Serbian Krajina Proclaimed

AU1912214491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Danko Peric report from Knin]

[Excerpt] After adopting the Constitution of the Republic of the Serbian Krajina and the constitutional law for implementing the Constitution and after promulgating the Constitution of the Republic, Dr. Milan Babic was elected president of the Republic of the Serbian Krajina. He took an oath and read out the demand sent to the Assemblies of Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Hercegovina to accept the freely-expressed will of the Serbian people of the Republic of the Serbian Krajina to set up a Serbian state on their historical and ethnic territories.

Considering the international legal continuity and state sovereignty of the Serbian states (?of) Serbia and Montenegro, this would start the procedure for international recognition of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, which was proclaimed today. This was stated in this act, which was sent to the deputies of the Assemblies of the three republics.

In a special demand, the heads of state of all countries are invited to recognize the independence, sovereignty, and international status of the Republic of the Serbian Krajina. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Milosevic Voices Support for Vance UN Mission

LD1912214591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1957 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, December 19 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic said during talks on Thursday [19 December] with members of the United Nations preparatory mission for sending Blue Helmets to Yugoslavia that Serbia supported the mission by U.N. secretary-general's special envoy Cyrus Vance, it was announced later today.

"Serbia expects the mission to end successfully in the interest of peace, which is the most important condition for settling Yugoslavia's crisis," Milosevic's cabinet said in a statement on the talks.

The preparatory mission, headed by U.S. diplomat Herbert Okun, arrived in Belgrade on Wednesday to examine on the spot conditions for the arrival of Blue Helmets and submit a detailed report to the U.N. Security Council, whose final decision will be based on the report.

As learned by TANJUG in Belgrade, Vance is expected to arrive on his fifth visit to Yugoslavia in late December. The arrival of the preparatory mission shows a high degree of readiness to successfully realize the mission of Cyrus Vance, Milosevic said after meeting with Okun.

In a statement to TANJUG and Belgrade Television, Milosevic expressed hope that the mission would be successfully realized and that a U.N. peacekeeping force would help achieve peace as the basic prerequisite for a peaceful and political settlement of Yugoslavia's crisis.

"From the very beginning, Serbia has firmly supported Vance's mission as well as the idea of sending a peacekeeping force to the Republic of Croatia to protect the territories populated by Serbs," said Milosevic.

Okun told journalists that he had informed the Serbian president thoroughly about the objectives and plans of his mission, sent to Yugoslavia on the basis of U.N. Security Council Resolution 724.

He described his talk with Milosevic as "highly useful and constructive." "The international community and the Security Council are deeply concerned about the situation in Yugoslavia and therefore wanted our mission to come here to see the situation on the spot and examine which areas could be put under U.N. protection," said Okun.

He pointed out, however, that a final decision on sending Blue Helmets to Yugoslavia has not yet been reached.

Assembly Conclusions on 'Illegal' EC Declaration

AU1912173091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1235 GMT 19 Dec 91

["Text" of the draft conclusions of the Serbian Assembly Committee for Foreign Affairs at the Serbian Assembly session on the EC decision to recognize the Yugoslav republics by 15 January; read by a member of the commission—live]

[Text] At the fifth session of the second regular sitting, which started on 17 December 1991, the National Assembly of Serbia, on the basis of the text of the EC declaration on Yugoslavia adopted in Brussels on 17 December 1991, the speech by the Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, and the discussion held at the session, adopted the following conclusions:

The latest act by the EC represents yet another step in the series of arbitrary, unprincipled, and ultimative steps of the community in the process of resolving the Yugoslav state-political crisis. It represents an attempt—contrary to the basic principles of international law, the principles of the United Nations Charter, and the orientations of the CSCE documents—to forcibly abolish Yugoslavia as an international legal subject.

This is an attempt to indiscriminately and arbitrarily equate the position of those republics and peoples who want to remain in Yugoslavia with that of the secessionist republics, and to totally ignore and negate other options for resolving the Yugoslav crisis, which have also been considered since the very beginning of the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague.

With this latest act, as with some previous ones, the EC has totally and voluntarily given up the mandate that was given to it by the CSCE. As known, this mandate is exclusively restricted to providing assistance and good services to the parties in Yugoslavia, which represent unavoidable and essential subjects in the quest for the solution to the crisis. The main principles of the work of the conference on Yugoslavia, which were agreed at the very beginning, were the equality of all the participants and options, as well as the principle of no side imposing solutions.

One must conclude, unfortunately, that the aforementioned decision shows that the individual political interests of some of the EC's more powerful members prevailed, above all, those of the Federal Republic of Germany, which has been leading the way with its unilateral and arbitrary interference in the Yugoslav crisis. With its latest move, the EC has directly ignored the warnings by the UN Security Council and other important and relevant international bodies, which, unlike the EC, obviously proceeded from the view that arbitrary support for the unilateral steps of secession not only does not help resolve any important issues of the Yugoslav crisis, but also leads to its further deter[illegible]ation.

On the basis of the above, the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia has concluded: The Republic of Serbia and the Serbian people cannot in any way accept such unilateral and illegal decisions by the member countries of the EC. Serbia, which entered Yugoslavia as an internationally recognized state 70 years ago, cannot in any way be equated with the republics that decided to unilaterally secede from Yugoslavia without ever having had their statehood, or even internationally recognized borders.

The National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia demands that the federal organs once again urgently address the United Nations with the aim of continuing the legitimate actions and activities of the world organization on protecting the integrity and status of the state of Yugoslavia and establishing peace. The National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia holds the view that, in the future, the conference on Yugoslavia should be held under the direct auspices of the United Nations.

Assembly Supports Extension of Military Service

AU1912164691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1555 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] At a closed session, which ended just over half an hour ago, the Serbian Assembly discussed a Serbian Government report on implementing the SFRY Presidency order on retaining military conscripts in the Armed Forces in conditions where there is an immediate danger of war. After an introductory speech by National Defense Minister Tomislav Simovic, and a two-hour debate, conclusions were unanimously adopted. They state among other things:

The National Assembly continues to be committed to a permanent truce and the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis with peaceful and political means. At this moment, the protecting the Serbian people and the freedom and dignity of all citizens on a full democratic basis is the aim to which we should all aspire.

The National Assembly supports the SFRY Presidency order according to which soldiers who entered the Yugoslav People's Army this year are retained in the Yugoslav People's Army for up to three months directly after their military service, and according to which those in the reserve forces are retained and can be called up to combat units of the Yugoslav People's Army and Territorial Defense for four months at the most.

The Assembly's conclusions also say that this order creates conditions for military conscripts from the reserve forces to be called up in a fairer way, while ensuring that combat units are adequately filled. This eliminates the possibility of certain military conscripts bearing a greater burden of the mobilization.

The National Assembly points out that gatherings by military conscripts, members of their families, and citizens have an adverse effect on the entire political and security situation in the republic and the entire combat capability of the Armed Forces. Therefore, the republican Assembly's conclusions say, all citizens and all political parties in the republic are called on to extend support to the SFRY Presidency order.

The republic's Assembly also insists on a quicker and more comprehensive implementation of legal regulations in the sphere of military service and action against military conscripts who have not responded to the mobilization calls, have abandoned combat units or have in other ways avoided their obligations in combat units.

Opposition Party Criticizes Serbian Media, EC

AU1812172091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Srdjan Savic report on news conference by representatives of the Serbian National Renewal in Belgrade]

[Text] Speaking about the international situation, Mirko Jovic, president of the Serbia National Renewal, stressed that Germany is obviously conducting a policy against Serbia as well as against members of the EC, something that is also reflected in the fact that France and Britain do not have their own policies, but only share a joint policy within the EC. In this situation, Russia should be thinking about appointing its own administration [prinudna uprava] on the territory of the former East Germany and erecting a new Berlin wall. Mirko Jovic also said that Mikhail Gorbachev and his government are working against Russian and Serbian interests, which is now being confirmed by the attempts to abolish the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

Dragoslav Bokan, secretary of the Serbian National Renewal, who recently returned from the Western Slavonian battlefield, stressed that coordination between the Yugoslav People's Army, the Territorial Defense, and volunteers has recently been poor. This has been successfully exploited by the Croatian paramilitary forces and this is why the number of refugees is increasingly growing. Bokan called for a precise definition of the role of the Yugoslav People's Army and said that it was necessary to unite because the Serbian people in Slavonia are being lynched. Dragoslav Bokan also reproached the media in Serbia for not performing their job properly, which is not the case with the Croatian side.

This news conference was also supposed to broach the problems of the deputies of this party in the Montenegrin Parliament, but because of poor weather conditions, the representatives of the Serbian Renewal Movement could not come to Belgrade.

Draskovic Advocates 'Russian Way' To End Crisis

AU1812191691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] A news conference by Vuk Draskovic is under way in the International Press Center in Belgrade. Even

though they had announced their attendance, Kosta Cavoski and Vojislav Kostunica have not arrived. The reason for the news conference is their visit to London, which ended yesterday. Vladimir Nikolic has a report from the International Press Center:

[Nikolic] I was in London for three days and I spent a full two days in exhausting talks with the heir to the throne, Aleksandar. This was told to those present by Vuk Draskovic. The heir to the throne was fully briefed on everything that is happening, Draskovic stressed, and added that heir Aleksandar will certainly soon arrive in Yugoslavia to stay for good.

In talks with Lord Carrington, Draskovic was fully briefed on everything that happened in Brussels. He cited Carrington's statement that Yugoslavia is at the disintegration stage.

Draskovic stressed already well-known accusations against the Serbian side for this development of events. He thinks that now that the Hague conference has failed, Brussels should not be avoided because, according to him, this declaration speaks about shifting borders in a peaceful way. Draskovic thinks that an ethnic delineation between Serbs and Croats is necessary, but that this must be carried out in a peaceful way. This requires guarantees from the Croatian side for Serbs who live in Croatia, as well as Zagreb's acceptance of a shift in the borders between Croatia and Serbia and Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. With some changes and goodwill, Serbia can be (?sorted out) peacefully, Draskovic stressed.

On Serbia's future, the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement stressed that he will advocate the so-called Russian way. In his opinion, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia should set up an alliance of southern Slav states without borders, passports, and customs, but with a common defense or only with a unified command and, for example, with a common foreign policy.

Draskovic ended the conference saying that in the end there will be peace and an alliance, no matter what kind, because anything is better than war and bloodshed.

As I report, the conference is coming to an end with Draskovic answering questions from the journalists present.

Letter Addressed to Bishops on 'Tragic Events'

92BA0239B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 25 Nov 91 pp 12-13

[Open letter signed by Olivije Kleman, Orthodox theologian, writer; Nikolaj Loski, Orthodox theologian, writer; Tatjana Goriceva, writer; Pavle Rak, writer; and Elizabet Ber-Zigel, Orthodox theologian: "In the Chains of Violence"]

[Text] Reverend fathers, shepherds of the Serbian people, we address you with a sincere pain in our soul. Do we need to remind you of the tragic events you have before you?

The Serbian state, using the remnants of the Yugoslav Army, is waging war against Croatia. The purpose, it says, is to "protect" Serbian inhabitants in those regions. Today, when so many Croatian cities and villages have been damaged or completely destroyed, those Serbian inhabitants truly need protection from the angry Croats. We are convinced, however, that during the period when this war was being prepared—that is, even before the psychological campaign flared up against the "new genocide against the Serbs"—that neither was the Croatian government preparing genocide, nor did the Serbs need this kind of "protection." The Serbs and Croats were living in peace.

During World War II, of course, the Serbs in Croatia did experience a horrible fate, and after the war the question of responsibility and guilt was never cleared up in the way that was done with Germany in the Nuremberg trials. Nevertheless, we repeat, the Serbs and Croats have shared the same space since the war and have become upset only by a few isolated incidents caused by unreasonable people. Today, everything has changed: Under wartime conditions, maniacs, who otherwise only emit curses and write bloodthirsty slogans, are really beginning to kill people. The longer the war lasts, the more they will be joined by ordinary people, made insane by the large-scale destruction to the point where they come to believe that the homeland must be purged of the "irreconcilable hostile people." It is only under those conditions that the crimes against the Serbs in Croatia could recur. It is for that reason that the war favors those Serbs least of anyone.

The political elites of Serbia and Croatia have long been in conflict. When the Albanians from Kosovo were causing Serbia difficult problems by demanding that that region be given the status of a republic, the rulers of Croatia applied the principle—my enemy's enemy is my ally. The Serbian government responded by encouraging the Serbs in Croatia to seek autonomy for themselves as well. Tit for tat! Then everything careened downhill. In Vojvodina and Montenegro, the Serbian leadership caused "spontaneous" disorders, which made it possible to bring to power groups obedient to Belgrade. That same undertaking was attempted even in Croatia. Because the Croats were not ready to demonstrate against their own government, the Serbs in Knin "spontaneously" rose up. They began to "spontaneously" take over police stations. At the same time, Serbian newsmen, historians, and writers "spontaneously" showered the press with articles and books about the Ustasha atrocities. They revived passions now 50 years old, convincing the public that the Croats have not changed at all, that they cannot be trusted, that force should be used to halt them in their criminal intentions.

This spring, in 1991, the Serbs demonstrated in the streets of Belgrade against the power of the Communists, who had changed their name to Socialists without much

thought. The government responded by sending in tanks. But that was not enough, attention had to be diverted, and the solution presented itself automatically, because the war hysteria had been prepared long before. Incidents involving firearms had become more frequent in and around the Serbian enclaves in Croatia. The Serbs forgot why they demonstrated and aligned themselves, by the logic of warfare, under the banner of "defense of national interests," and the bloody conflict began.

Why are we writing all this to you, reverend and honorable fathers? Because the church which you head is contributing, unconsciously, of course, to this encouragement of hatred. At the same time when government propagandists of dubious moral value and certain dignitaries of the church have been writing and preaching more and more frequently about past sufferings of the Serbs, about Ustasha crimes, about the mass graves where lie the bones of innocent victims. These "grave-digging" preoccupations, to use the ironic popular expression, have become the charged subject matter of the church press.

The victims of the Ustashi include many who were authentic martyrs to the faith, holy martyrs, because often, in their hatred of Orthodoxy, the murderers proposed to the victims conversion to Catholicism and required that the Serbs wear armbands marked not with the letter S [Serb], but the letter P [Orthodox]. There is, then, an understandable need and duty of the church to speak and to celebrate the martyrs who bore witness to the faith, to their deaths. Except that the celebration of holy martyrs must not coincide with encouragement of hatred toward the "descendants of their executioners." What is more, if this celebration might in any way contribute to heating up passions, it is better to wait for more peaceful times to bear them witness. The Gospel reveals to us our personality and, accordingly, personal responsibility, not collective responsibility, as conceived by archaic societies and totalitarian regimes. What can a child hit by a missile have in common with a murderer in 1941, who even then was a minority in his own people?

But today war is raging over the places where the Serbs were executed in Croatia! The Army has attacked the Croats, whose armament is much weaker. Croatian villages and cities are mainly the victims. It is no one's intention to forget the Serbs in Croatia and leave them to their fate, but the main thing is to break the chain of violence, hatred, and death (whose victims, let us repeat it, they themselves could become). Christians should not call upon others to show remorse, but should start with themselves, should "pluck the thorn" of murderous passions from their own eye. The Serbian people has found itself in a blind alley. In spite of the official propaganda, it is clear who is shooting first, who is on the defense, and who is the aggressor. The Serbian Orthodox Church ought not to be an accomplice, if even unconsciously, of a "national-communist" war machine (let us not use the word "socialist" in this place!). On behalf of the future, this war should be stopped as soon as possible. Outcries for victims in the past should be replaced as soon as possible by a clear and critical examination of reality.

What the Serbian people needs today is your pastoral word. To call for a halt of the combat, because it is most important that there be no more shooting.

In the past, when the people was attacked, when its existence was threatened, the church gave its blessing to defenders and looked upon war as the lesser evil. Today, it has been drawn into an aggression which is even contrary to its proclaimed objectives (we are referring to the fate of Serbs in Croatia). The church ought to gather its strength to go before the people and call upon it not to commit evil anymore. Only this kind of "protection" has eternity in view.

We beg forgiveness for addressing you in what may seem to you severe language. Love does not call for condescension, but the truth. And love of the church and the Serbian people has driven us to write to you.

Respectfully and hopefully.

Statistics on Republic's Ethnic Populations

LD2012070291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0328 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 20 (TANJUG)—The statistical office of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia has announced data on the national structure of the population in Serbia, after having conducted a census in March of this year, according to which Serbia counts nine million 791,475 inhabitants of whom six million 428,420 are Serbian nationals.

According to the still unofficial data, the rest include 140,024 Montenegrins, 109,214 Croats, 47,577 Macedonians, 237,358 Moslems (national not religious character), 8,340 Slovenes, one million 686,661 Albanians, 345,376 Hungarians, 11,501 Turks, 25,214 Bulgarians, 42,386 Romanians, 137,265 Romanies, 18,339 Rusins, 67,234 Slovaks, 17,557 Vlachs, 21,662 Bunjevac, 1,922 Sokac, 317,739 inhabitants of Serbia declared themselves Yugoslavs while 16,661 did not state their nationality or were undecided.

The capital of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade, according to the latest census has one million 617,734 inhabitants, of whom, as reported, 1,374,487 or 85 percent are Serbs, 42,975 are Monetnegrins (2.7 percent), 16,400 Croats (one percent), 15,670 Macedonians (one percent), 13,624 Moslems (0.8 percent), 3,628 Slovenes (0.2 percent) while 87,615 declared themselves Yugoslavs (5.4 percent).

The statistical office of the Republic of Serbia today for the first time reported data on the number of ethnic Albanians in this Yugoslav Federal unit. There are one million 686,661 Albanians living in Serbia, of whom

1,607,000 live in Kosovo and Metohija alone, a province which is a part of the Republic of Serbia.

Asked by a TANJUG editor how the figures were obtained, since it is known that ethnic Albanians boycotted the census out of political reasons, director of the republican statistical office Milovan Zivkovic replied that scientific methods were applied, i.e. the population growth rate was included and all indicators which are applied in statistical studies at home and abroad.

Beli Manastir Radio Station Given Assistance

LD1912170791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1741 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Excerpt] Nis, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—All radio stations in Serbia will provide maximum assistance in personnel and equipment to the Beli Manastir radio station, so that local stations can improve its transmission. This was agreed at today's meeting of chief and responsible editors of radio stations and the Serbian radio station network. [passage omitted]

Press Conference of Sandzak, Kosovo SDA Leaders

92BA0219B Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 2 Dec 91 p 3

[Report on press conference of the Democratic Action Party of Sandzak: "We Will Continue, If Only Illegally"]

[Text] "The question of whether the borders between the republics are administrative or governmental is irrelevant to us so long as human rights are respected," was an answer of Rasim Ljajic in a press conference of the SDA [Democratic Action Party] of Sandzak organized during the party's congress. Perhaps that is why the question was asked of whether there were any differences in point of view between the Sandzak SDA and the parent SDA? The answer was that there were no quarrels. "We are one political entity, completely independent in its work, but no one can separate the Sandzak Muslims from the Bosnian Muslims. For us, Bosnia-Hercegovina is the parent state," Ljajic said.

Sulejman Ugljanin, the party's president, who answered numerous newsmen's questions, said that he favored the "blue helmets" coming into the Sandzak to prevent the slaughters of Muslims which have already been announced, according to what he said, and that the European forums which he has visited know the results of the referendum in Sandzak and support the activities of the SDA in that endeavor, and that for him Yugoslavia is dead, and the courts of Serbia irrelevant. Ugljanin also came out in favor of temporary disassociation in order to arrive at an association of equal constituents later. As for the question of the announced prohibition of the SDA of Sandzak, Ugljanin said that nothing of the communist-Stalinist authorities in Serbia, as he termed them, surprised him and that the party would register later with the Muslim National Council. "You know that they are trying some of our deputies in the Montenegrin Assembly and that even now we are operating semilegally in essence," Ugljanin said.

Rasim Ljajic then added that there was no legal basis whatsoever for prohibiting the operation of the Sandzak SDA, and if this occurred, this would be yet another evidence of flagrant violation of elementary human rights of Muslims in Sandzak. Ugljanin then made it known that court proceedings had been initiated against the Muslim National Council. Asked whether he knew the name of the prime minister of Sandzak, Ugljanin replied that that would be decided by the Assembly of the MNVS [Muslim National Council of Sandzak], which is to meet in a day or two. "In any case, the ministries have already been formed and are at work," Ugljanin said.

The press conference of the SDA of Sandzak was also attended by Dr. Numan Balic, president of the Kosovo SDA. Asked about the course of the trial being conducted against him, Balic said that this was a rigged trial being conducted with new witnesses who have been told what to say, and the charges are false. Balic does not know whether he will serve his sentence of six months, but he believes that the congress will react to it, just as Alija Izetbegovic has done. Asked about the most recent plebiscite of Albanians in favor of annexing Kosovo to Albania, Balic said that the Muslim people will respect the will of all citizens of Kosovo. The president of the Kosovo SDA said in conclusion that the Kosovo problem is not a problem of relations between Albanians and Serbs, but of Serbs and non-Serbs. Should operation of the Kosovo SDA be prohibited, that party, Balic said, would continue to operate.

Kosovo

Albanian Political Parties Seeks EC Recognition

AU2012124391 Tirana ATA in English 1037 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Tirana, December 20 (ATA) — The Coordinating Council of the Albanian Political Parties of Kosovo made a statement on December 19, addressed to the Assembly and Government of the Republic of Kosovo with the demand to forward before the respective forums of the European Community the request for the recognition of the Republic of Kosovo, showing at the same time their readiness and ability for independent constituency, according to all the democratic demands of the European Community.

The statement hails and backs up the stand and demand of the European Community for the democratic transformation of the relations in the territories of Yugoslavia until now. At the same time, it voices the hope and strong conviction that in the process of the democratic reconstruction of the federal units of the Yugoslavia, the correct democratic demands of the Albanians for equality, independence and self-determination will be

understood and respected, the Republic of Kosovo and the Albanians as a constituent factor in Macedonia, Montenegro and in Serbia will be accepted.

The statement stresses also that a federal community, with striking tendencies of unitarism and hegemony, which allowed relations of inequality inside it, moreover the elimination of a federal unit from the other, which made possible annexations and occupations, which for over a decade is keeping the Albanian people in conditions of discrimination, in an unconstitutional and illegal situation, the incessant special and extraordinary measures, a community where inter-republican wars and aggressions may take place, cannot exist and is not worth existing.

JEDINSTVO: EC Move 'Attack' on Sovereignty

LD1812141191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1254 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Pristina, Dec 18 (TANJUG)—The Pristina daily "JEDINSTVO" describes today the E.C. declaration on the recognition of independence of all Yugoslav republics as an attack on a country's sovereignty and territorial integrity, unprecedented in international relations.

In its comment on the E.C. declaration adopted yesterday, the paper says the "unauthorized court" of the "Twelve" in Brussels made a unilateral and partial decision to wipe out Yugoslavia from the map of Europe and proclaimed it a non-existent state.

Such a statement on a country's disintegration, the paper adds, represents an open recognition to the secessionist republics of Slovenia and Croatia for destroying Yugoslavia, as well as a proof of Europe's inability to bridle expansionist passions of the reunified Germany.

"JEDINSTVO" warns that Europe should not hurry to recognize the secessionist republics, at least not until the question of demarcation is resolved. Otherwise, true chaos could result not only in Yugoslavia, but also in the member-countries of the "Twelve".

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Izetbegovic Reelected; EC Recognition Requested

LD2012110891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency session in Sarajevo has ended. In a secret ballot Alija Izetbegovic was again elected president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency by five votes to two. By the same margin—five votes to two—the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency decided to request the EC to recognize the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Republic 'Very Interested' in Continued Hague Meet

LD1912214291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1911 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 19 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Alija Izetbegovic told the press today that he informed chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia Lord Carrington that this republic is very interested in the continuation of the conference.

"We have covered all issues concerning the possible continuation of The Hague conference in our talk with Lord Carrington, because it is uncertian whether it will continue," Izetbegovic said.

According to Izetbegovic, Lord Carrington will decide whether to continue the conference probably after Christmas because of certain difficulties with the position of Serbia.

President of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic said last night after his talk with Lord Carrington that the conference on Yugoslavia could succeed only under the auspices of the United Nations.

Serbia does not accept the European Community's proposal adopted on Monday [16 December] in Brussels that Yugoslav republics which seek international recognition be recognized provided they meet certain conditions.

"Bosnia-Hercegovina has made no decision yet concerning the E.C. declaration. A decision will be made by the republican government," Izetbegovic said.

He told reporters that he had informed Lord Carrington that two of the three parties forming the ruling coalition in Bosnia-Hercegovina—the Party of Democratic Actions rallying moslems and the Croatian Democratic Union—have accepted the E.C. declaration, but that the Serbs in the republic are against the decision to apply for the recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

After his meeting with Izetbegovic and brief talks with Republican Presidency Member Nikola Koljevic and President of the Serbian Democratic Party for Bosnia-Hercegovina Radovan Karadzic, Lord Carrington told the press that the talks were "useful."

Koljevic and Karadzic, who represent the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina, told reporters they were against seeking independence for this republic.

"This is the most vital question for the life of Bosnia-Hercegovina and its peoples, and no such decision can be made without the consent of all three national communities," Karadzic said.

According to a census conducted this year, Bosnia-Hercegovina's population includes moslems (44 percent), Serbs (31 percent) and Croats (17 percent).

Muslim Party Issues Statement on Declaration

LD2012101291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2259 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Hercegovina's Party of Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije, SDA] regards the EC declaration on Yugoslavia adopted on 17 December in Brussels as an acceptable basis for resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

In its statement tonight this party stresses that the solution can only be found by the participants in this drama, and that Bosnia-Hercegovina as a sovereign democratic state can participate on equal terms in agreements aiming to create new associations and communities on this land. It also can guarantee and advance human rights and and the legitimate national interests of all its citizens and peoples as well as special ties between the Serbs and Croats and their respective homelands.

In its statement the SDA also stresses that the international recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina will enable its citizens and peoples to embark upon a new phase of cooperation, establish more harmonious relations with the Balkan states and peoples, and win a more suitable position within the Europe community of nations.

The SDA has called on all democratic forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina to contribute to the development of Bosnia-Hercegovina's sovereignty, the statement notes. It also conveys the belief that military factors in Bosnia-Hercegovina will also resolutely side with this republic's constitutional and legitimate institutions and that they will decline to be used as a means of achieving one-sided political aims.

Article Considers 'Winds of War Over Bosnia'

92BA0151B Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 7 Nov 91 p 2

[Article by Zoran Odic and Teodor Gersak: "Framework for Chaos"]

[Text] The top Serbian leadership wants to prove that the war is being led by "precanski" Serbs (Vojvodina Serbs), so that in an appropriate moment it can wash its hands of the Yugo-generals and send them, together with a cadre of mid-level officers, to court as war criminals.

The Winds of War Over Bosnia

Due to the fact that the present politicians are not able to cope with the demands of the times we live in, and due to their lack of responsibility toward their own people, the winds of war are now shifting to Bosnia and Hercegovina. The political extremists of the national parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina, with their irrational and reckless actions, will see to it that war will come about. Those watching Sarajevo TV or reading OSLOBODJENJE were able to be convinced that this is true. Such a war in the Bosnia-Hercegovina territory, while not the result of the present situation, even though it is unbearable and intolerable, will not bring about a change for the good. Here, we can speak only of the conflict with Greater Serbia's imperialistic goals, a conflict in which Bosnia has already become involved, and where nothing else is left for us to do but wait to see what happens with western Hercegovina. The Army has already mobilized the Serbian population in the territory of Bosnia and eastern Hercegovina and those forces are already operating against Croatia, as well as against Bosnia-Hercegovina, since the next phase is to connect the territories of the five newly formed Serbian Autonomous Regions [SAO's], whose establishment in itself undermined the constitutional order of the Republic. While the Yugo-generals are continuously claiming that the Army in Bosnia-Hercegovina is only in transit, the Yugo-army has in fact through constitutional interferences occupied Bosnia-Hercegovina. Thanks to the military support that the Greater Serbia extremists, inside and outside of Bosnia-Hercegovina, are receiving from the generals, the people who live in this republic are being pulled into an extremely brutal conflict that will not rage only at the front but also in apartment buildings, coffee shops, streets, villages, and towns.

Buffer Zone—Military Zone

For the Serbian extremists who know very well that in Bosnia there live not only Croats and Muslims, but many other nationalities, from Albanians, Gypsies, Slovacs, and Czechs to Italians, the town of Prnjavor being a good example, Bosnia-Hercegovina has always been some sort of a buffer zone between those with Serbian Orthodox or Christian backgrounds, only an historical-geographical-cultural concept, but never a sovereign state. For that reason, the present Serbian politicians in Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina do not take it seriously, but keep dividing it and claiming their rights to Bosnia, without taking into consideration, or showing respect for, the interests of other people. Due to this tragic fact, Bosnia-Hercegovina has become a military zone into which the Yugo-army will withdraw (save for the two corps already transferred from Slovenia and at least two corps from Croatia, plus the units that are regularly stationed in Bosnia-Hercegovina) after its last failed attempt to carry out assaults in the west and southwest. Because of this hard reality, Bosnia-Hercegovina can in no way remain any kind of demilitarized or neutral zone, an idea promulgated by an undoubtedly well-meaning and honest man, Alija Izetbegovic.

At the same time, Croatian policy, which wants to keep the present leaders in power, alleviate the growing social tensions, and at the same time solve the status of the Croatian ethnic group in Hercegovina, will, to a certain extent, tolerate the conflict on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which will threaten Croatia only indirectly and suit its domestic policy. Peace is one thing that does not suit either Croatia or top Serbian leadership.

Can the Army Survive?

Another question is, what will happen with the Yugo-army after an inevitable military conflict on the territory

of Bosnia-Hercegovina? In the event of any kind of conflict, the Army cannot survive, or stay in Bosnia-Hercegovina, nor does it have a place to withdraw to, although Belgrade generals still have such illusions. Even if Bosnia-Hercegovina through a miracle of God (and there is no such thing) should be spared the mutual slaughtering of its people, who for centuries have lived together and in peace, the "federal" Army stands no chance to survive socially. The question is whether Serbia and Montenegro, that is the new federal block, advocated by Kadijevic in the name of the Serbian portion of the Presidency, could at all maintain and feed the Army. One cannot overlook the fact that 60 percent of financial resources for the Army, until now, has come from Slovenia and Croatia. Thus, in spite of the unlimited printing of money, the Army in Bosnia-Hercegovina can expect nothing but a social collapse and the realization that in the whole of Yugoslavia there is not a single people or republic that would accept it.

In the peace negotiations, Serbia wants to prove that it has not been involved in the war. In support of this, Milosevic stated that "Serbia is not in war," but this is negated by the constant mobilization, protests and statements by reservists returning home from the front, the newly adopted "war" laws by the Serbian Assembly, the introduction of a war scheme and a ruthless propaganda war, and the behavior of the Serbian portion of the Presidency, which has taken all the prerogatives in its hands and proclaimed that Serbia is under a direct threat of war although Serbia has suffered no air, tank, or artillery attacks but rather the assaults are coming from its territory. Top-level politicians in Serbia want to show that the war is being waged by the "precanski" Serbs just so that they can later, and will, in a conveniently and carefully chosen moment, wash their hands of the Yugo-generals who will, together with a cadre of mid-level officers, be sent to court as war criminals.

There is no other way out for either Milosevic, his satellites, or his successors. If any one of them admits to the role of aggressor, he will be faced with paying war damages worth 20 billion dollars, which is the damage caused by the Army. This is the sad truth about the fate of the Army whose helm has been in the hands of national and political extremists.

Cantonization of Bosnia, Army Role Examined

92BA0250A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
7 Dec 91 pp 20-21

[Article by Teodor Gersak: "Sensitive National Triumvirate—What Will Happen to Bosnia-Hercegovina"]

[Text] Views on whether the present war may also shift to the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina still differ considerably among those familiar with the political and ethnic situation in that republic.

I myself think that it will not necessarily happen, because of certain reasons and specific characteristics. In other words, there are several arguments that support the thesis that Bosnia-Hercegovina will still remain outside the area of the military conflicts. Three nationalities have already been living on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina for many centuries, and are characterized by a strong symbiosis that defines the concept of "peace" considerably differently than in Croatia.

The Serbs, who represent about a third of the population in Bosnia-Hercegovina, are politically the strongest and "most pronounced" nationality, but on the other hand are the weakest economically. The Croats constitute about a fifth, and are politically well organized and economically the strongest, since they are the owners of more than 70 percent of the foreign exchange, but in view of these facts they are not correspondingly represented in the political and government life of this republic. The Muslims are more than half of all the inhabitants; their economic power is somewhere around the middle. As a nationality, they are extremely self-aware, and in recent years they have become well organized politically. They are characterized by their attachment to traditional Muslim religious and cultural values and models.

The fact is, therefore, that on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina all three nationalities live in a considerable balance, which is difficult to disrupt. That balance is also shown by a sort of political "triumvirate" of three national parties, none of which has an absolute majority. Bosnia-Hercegovina is also an "institution" that is regionally, and especially culturally, extremely heterogeneous and complex. There is a very diverse folklore that is an integral part of the way of life of the inhabitants of this republic. Consequently, the claims that in Bosnia-Hercegovina there has been a merger of Christian and Orthodox civilizations, which is supposed to have intermingled with some sort of remnants of Turkish tradition, are incorrect. All of these characteristics and specific features have strongly marked Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the political, economic, and cultural interdependence in that area is so strong that in many places it can only be considered Bosnian, which is also a designation for the population living there.

These are arguments which confirm that one cannot destroy this internal historically governed balance through the mechanisms of some sort of cold revolution and through the declaration that one of the peoples is genocidal, i.e., through the method that has "successfully" pushed Croatia into war. In Bosnia-Hercegovina, the so-called Cetnik hordes are not received very well, although recently there have been a considerable number of attempts at such a destabilization of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Consequently, completely different and original methods would have to be found for the internal destruction of Bosnia-Hercegovina. In the last few years, it has also been demonstrated that there is also a very strong Bosnian attachment to Yugoslavism, essentially a conservative Yugoslavism, which is also a significant integrating factor. In spite of its [word illegible] sovereignty, Bosnia-Hercegovina is in a completely different position from the other parts of the former Yugoslavia.

Because of the particular features that are characteristic of it, Bosnia-Hercegovina is very dependent upon its neighbors. Bosnia-Hercegovina has three so-called "nationality anchors." Through the Orthodox one it is linked with the Serbian side, through the "green Muslim transversal" it is linked with compatriots in Sandzak in Serbia, and through western Hercegovina, it is linked with Croatia. Only a violent rupture of these links could destabilize Bosnia-Hercegovina so strongly that this could cause a civil war—which is also an extremely dangerous option for the Balkans. It is because of all this that Bosnia-Hercegovina has been forced to cooperate closely both with Serbia and with Montenegro and Croatia, and to think about some sort of mini-Yugoslavia.

The most realistic option, then, is that the inhabitants of Bosnia-Hercegovina will choose their own authentic Bosnian cultural area, and not the remnants of the national homelands of peoples that do not live in the territory of this republic. That is also the model of the Swiss confederation, which has formed its own cultural area and has not given any preference to any of the remnants of the large European peoples. Even though extremisms of different colors are already appearing in Bosnia-Hercegovina as well, so far this has not yet succeeded in destroying all the values that strongly link and integrate the nationalities in this republic. Certain conflicts and skirmishes have so far remained very limited, at an isolated local level, and with rather strong support from imported terrorists. The purpose of the local terror is also to cause fear and to quell ideas of secession from a mini-Yugoslavia. It is interesting that even among the Serbian inhabitants of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the ideas of secession and the annexation of Bosnia to their parent people have not fallen upon fertile soil. Those ideas only exist in the heads of certain local Greater Serbian and Greater Croatian politicians and extremists, and do not mean anything too fatal.

Also, the establishment of some sort of United States of Serbia is not acceptable to Bosnia-Hercegovina and is not an appropriate solution. The establishment of five SAO's [Serbian autonomous regions] and two Croatian HAO's [Croatian autonomous regions] is essentially just the beginning of the cantonization of Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is thus only a question of the cultural, economic, and political articulation of national interests, desires, and expectations, which are currently in the phase of seeking a national cultural identity. Those processes are already being accompanied by small exoduses of the population from eastern Hercegovina, and something similar can also be expected in the areas inhabited by Muslims. That kind of future organization of the republic is probably a very real option, since in its implementation there is essentially nothing hindering the mechanisms of the existing authority and it does not negate the republic center of authority.

Also, certain extremist attempts to use the war to separate the Serbian population and annex it to Serbia are too dangerous for the survival of Milosevic's policy. The original Greater Serbianism, by spreading the previous conflicts onto the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina as well, would risk losing everything. In fact, there is no possibility that civil and military conflicts could remain only within the borders of Bosnia-Hercegovina, as has been characteristic of the war in Croatia, for example. Clashes between Serbs and Muslims would be particularly dangerous, since in that case Muslim Sandzak, on Serbian territory, would also play an important role as one of the "nuclei" of the clashes. The destabilization of Sandzak, following the principle of a chain reaction, would shortly also mean bloody conflicts in Kosovo as well, and this could also pull neighboring Albania into the vortex of war. A Serbian-Albanian conflict would very probably be exploited by Bulgaria to annex certain parts of Serbia that it has claimed for a long time to have "historical rights to." All of this could finally cause at least a new "little" Balkan war, although political and military strategists here and in Europe are also warning about worse consequences of such a development of events in this part of the Balkans.

Bosnia is certainly the detonator of a Balkan or even a European war, and even Milosevic cannot overlook this. It also cannot be overlooked by Europe, whose interest, on the other hand, does not lie in militarily weakening Serbia too much, since that could also destabilize the Balkans and European interests in this region. Greater Serbian policy would not gain anything through such an extensive conflict. It would be in a conflict with all the peoples on the territory of Yugoslavia and with its neighbors, and such conflicts would certainly be halted by foreign intervention. These are the reasons why a military-strategic spread of the conflicts does not suit Slobodan Milosevic.

Only the seriously amputated former Yugoslav army can still push Bosnia-Hercegovina into the war—most directly through occupation, since it is now already mobilizing Serbian volunteers in Bosnia-Hercegovina with the aid of the constitutional powers of the former federal state, and arming them in the same way that it has done in the Croatian Krajina under the guise of an alleged threat to the Serbian people. The army has virtually "occupied" the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina—with the pretext that the Serbian people's interests are already threatened in this republic, and with the announcement that it needs this territory for the transit of its units. The "transit," however, has not meant anything other than the reinforcement of the army's forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina by another four corps in addition to the three. Proceeding on the basis of a belief that Bosnia-Hercegovina is only some sort of historical, geographic, and cultural buffer zone, and not a sovereign state, the army is already undermining its constitutional order and trying to annex it, through the Krajinas, to a mini-Yugoslavia—at least parts of it, if things do not turn out otherwise.

Even in the event of recognition of the international independent status of the Yugoslav republics, there will still be powerful aspirations to force Bosnia-Hercegovina

militarily, politically, and economically to remain in some sort of mini-Yugoslavia. The army can also indirectly cause gigantic social tensions and even a real explosion of dissatisfaction in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Already, namely through the withdrawal of defense industry from Bosnia-Hercegovina, about 40,000 inhabitants of Bosnia-Hercegovina have lost their jobs. The military blockade of the Ploce port is already threatening that another 70,000 people will be left without work; individual parts of the economy are already seriously affected and there is a danger that they will be completely paralyzed. There is also something else that is dangerous. At this time almost half the army is in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the officer corps does not have apartments, their family members do not have jobs, and their living conditions are at the limit of tolerability. This can cause extremely strong social and economic pressure from that part of the population, and conflicts between them and the indigenous civilian population.

Deputy Prime Minister Assesses Turkey Visit

AU1812202891 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Bosnia-Hercegovina Deputy Prime Minister Muhamed Cengic returned this evening from a 12-day visit to Turkey. According to Cengic, the aim of the visit—economic aid from Turkey for Bosnia-Hercegovina in the form of deliveries of oil derivatives and foodstuffs—was fully achieved. The Bosnia-Hercegovina deputy prime minister made a statement for Sarajevo Radio and Television at Sarajevo airport:

[Begin Cengic recording] My visit produced results in that it was promised that we will receive oil derivatives to the value of $20 million. The first of these derivatives will most probably arrive as early as next week. We have agreed that these derivatives will arrive at the Ploce harbor from where we will transport them to Sarajevo and places where they are most needed.

The agreement was also that after we had used the first quantity of derivatives we could receive more. I arranged it so that we do not need any bank guarantees whatsoever. Turkey is prepared to give us this $20 million-worth of oil as a gift, but we agreed that this will not be a gift at the moment, but [words indistinct] we ensure a longer period of time so that we will have oil derivatives in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

I reached agreement with Prime Minister Demirel and the agriculture minister on delivering to us a certain quantity of wheat, beans, edible oil, and sugar and they agreed to give us this on very favorable terms regarding both price and terms of payment.

We agreed that immediately after New Year I will go to Turkey with a large government and economic delegation. We will discuss who can be part of this delegation of businessmen. There was also discussion about a project worth $17 million that Energoinvest is due to carry out in Turkey. This is the construction of 400 kilometers of electrical power line.

My general view is that Turkey is a country that will certainly be our primary partner in the future because it has much of what we need. It also has a generous heart and a great desire to help Bosnia-Hercegovina regardless of the religions and nations of the people who live in Bosnia-Hercegovina. [end Cengic recording]

Macedonia

Gligorov Says Republic Expects EC Recognition

AU1812132991 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] According to the criteria set up by the EC and the broader world community Macedonia meets the conditions for its independence to be recognized much better than some other republics, Kiro Gligorov, president of the Republic of Macedonia, has said.

Namely, we came to the proclamation of our sovereignty along a peaceful democratic road, including a referendum and the adoption of the new Constitution which, in a most democratic way, guarantees human rights and freedoms, particularly rights and freedoms of minorities. We advocate inviolability of borders and want peaceful cooperation with all countries of the world of whom we officially demand international recognition.

Moreover, Gligorov pointed out, Macedonia has made a constructive contribution to the success of The Hague Conference, that is, to the peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. Therefore, the Republic of Macedonia justifiably expects to be granted international recognition. Any different solution would have many harmful consequences and would be contrary to the principles advocated by the EC.

In this respect we think that we have the right to expect the support of a large number of friendly countries and the international community itself. Therefore, we welcome the EC declaration as a principled and good basis for recognizing the independence of the Republic of Macedonia and all others who want to be recognized.

All our efforts so far have been made in this direction, and we can be satisfied with the present course of events, it is said among other things in the statement by Kiro Gligorov, president of the Republic of Macedonia, on the occasion of the EC Declaration on Yugoslavia.

Assembly Foreign Commissions Back EC Declaration

LD1912153291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1245 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Skopje, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—The Macedonian Assembly's Commissions for Foreign Relations and for

Sociopolitical System have today endorsed the EC declaration on Yugoslavia and the guidelines for the recognition of new states of the Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union prior to a session of the Macedonian Assembly.

The Macedonian Assembly will discuss and adopt stances of the Republic of Macedonia on the two declarations at a session this afternoon.

Denko Maleski, the Macedonian minister for foreign relations, stressed at a joint session of the two commissions that Macedonia is meeting all conditions for international recognition. Although a provision of the EC declaration that the Community will not recognize republics harboring territorial pretensions toward neighbors or using names implying such pretensions, could prove to be a stumbling block, it ought not to be of much importance during the process of the international recognition of Macedonia.

These two commissions will propose to the Macedonian Assembly not to discuss this provision today.

Government Supports EC Document, Declarations

LD1912165191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1504 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Excerpt] Skopje, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—At its session today, the Macedonian Government endorsed the documents of the EC, the declaration on Yugoslavia, and the declaration on the guidelines for the recognition of new states in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

As announced, today's government session also endorsed the draft law on the repeal of the law on the use of the name and person of Josip Broz Tito, setting out at the same time that in official premises of the government and republican organs only the coat of arms of the Republic of Macedonia should be displayed. [passage omitted]

Assembly Adopts Declaration on Recognition

AU2012160691 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Today, at its 28th session, the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia adopted the Declaration for the International Recognition of the Republic of Macedonia as a sovereign and independent state. Speaking at the session, Assembly President Stojan Andov presented the basic postulates of the declaration:

[Begin Andov recording] First, the Republic of Macedonia as a sovereign and independent state must be internationally recognized.

Second, the Republic of Macedonia accepts the criteria and meets the conditions set by the EC Council of Ministers in Brussels on 19 December 1991.

Third, the Republic of Macedonia accepts the draft document of the Conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague. It supports the continuation of the Conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague, and, just as it has done so far, will participate in its work in a constructive way with a view to achieving a definitive solution to the Yugoslav crisis in a peaceful and democratic way. At the same time, the Republic of Macedonia supports the effort the EC has made so far on this plane and expresses its readiness to (?participate in them) in the future as well.

Fourth, the Republic of Macedonia hails and fully supports the efforts of the UN Organization, [word indistinct] the secretary general, and the Security Council for a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis (?including) sending peace-keeping forces of the United Nations.

The Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia asks the president of the republic and obliges the government, in conformity with their constitutional powers, to carry out the system of measures and activities that ensue from this declaration.

[Signed] The Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia. [applause] [end recording]